

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. 212.

COMPRISING Nos. 422, 423,

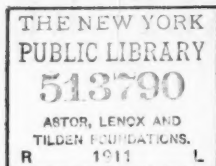
PUBLISHED IN

JANUARY & APRIL, 1910.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1910.



GENERAL INDEX TO THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 401, forming Volume CCI., and containing a General Index to the volumes from CLXXXII. to CC. of the QUARTERLY REVIEW, is Now Ready.

The QUARTERLY REVIEW is published on or about the 15th of January, April, July, and October.

Price Twenty-four Shillings per Annum, *post free*.

NEW YORK
JUL 1911
VIA RAIL

LONDON:

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
Stamford Street, S.E., and Great Windmill Street, W.

QUARTERLY LITERARY ADVERTISER.

LONDON, JANUARY, 1910.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE POET LAUREATE.

The Bridling of Pegasus; or, Prose Papers on Poetry. By ALFRED AUSTIN, Poet Laureate. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

The Life of William Thomson, Baron Kelvin of Largs. By SILVANUS P. THOMPSON, D.Sc., F.R.S., Principal and Professor of Physics in the City and Guilds Technical College, Finsbury. With numerous Photogravure Portraits and other Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo.

Administrative Problems of British India. By JOSEPH CHAILLEY, Member of the French Chamber of Deputies. Translated by Sir WILLIAM MEYER, K.C.I.E. 8vo.

The Gates of India. Being an Historical Narrative. By Colonel Sir THOMAS HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., D.Sc., Author of "The Indian Borderland," "India," &c. With Maps and Plans. 8vo.

Lectures on the French Revolution. By LORD ACTON, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Edited, with an Introduction, by JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS, M.A., and REGINALD VERE LAURENCE, M.A. 8vo. 10s. net.

A History of the British Army. By the Hon. JOHN W. FORTESCUE. Volumes V. and VI.—From the Peace of Amiens (1802) to the Evacuation of Spain by the British troops (1809). With Maps. 8vo.

A History of the British Army. By the Hon J. W. FORTESCUE. Volumes I. and II.—To the Close of the Seven Years' War. New Edition. With Maps. 8vo.

A History of the English Church. Edited by the late Dean STEPHENS and the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt. In Nine Volumes. With Maps. Crown 8vo. Vols. VIII. and IX. **The English Church in the Nineteenth Century.** By F. WARRE CORNISH, M.A., Vice-Provost of Eton College. 7s. 6d. each.

. Previously published: Vols. I.-VII. 7s. 6d. each.

Totemism and Exogamy: A Treatise on Certain Ancient Forms of Superstition and Society. By J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. With Maps. 4 vols. 8vo.

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD., LONDON.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians.

New Edition. Edited by J. A. FULLER MATTLAND, M.A. In 5 Vols. 8vo. Vol. V.: T—Z. 21s. net.

*. Previously published: Vols. I.—IV. 21s. net each.

Shakespeare's Roman Plays and their

Background. By M. W. MACCALLUM, M.A., Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow), Professor of Modern Literature in the University of Sydney. 8vo.

A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present Day.

By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D. (Aberd.), Hon. D.Litt. (Dresd.), Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. 3 Vols. 8vo. Volume III.

*. Previously published: Vol. I. From the Origins to Spenser. 10s. net. Vol. II. From Shakespeare to Crabbe. 15s. net.

Highways and Byways in Buckinghamshire.

By CLEMENT K. SHORTER. With Illustrations by FREDERICK L. GRIGGS. Extra crown 8vo. 6s. [*Highways and Byways Series.*]

Papuan Fairy Tales.

By ANNIE KER. Illustrated. Extra crown 8vo.

Chronicles of Pharmacy.

By A. C. WOOTTON. Illustrated. 8vo.

Orationes et Epistolae Cantabrigienses,

1876-1909. By J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D., Public Orator of the University of Cambridge. Crown 4to.

ANTI MIAΣ. An Essay in Isometry.

By R. J. WALKER. 2 vols. 8vo.

Life in the Roman World of Nero and

St. Paul. By T. C. TUCKER, Litt.D., Author of "Life in Ancient Athens," &c. 8vo.

Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals.

By E. NORMAN GARDINER, M.A. Illustrated. Extra crown 8vo.

[*Handbooks of Archeology and Antiquities.*]

Accidents of an Antiquary's Life.

By D. G. HOGARTH. With 40 Illustrations from Photographs taken by the Author and his friends. 8vo.

The Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century.

By WILLIAM SMART, D.Phil., LL.D., Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy in the University of Glasgow. Part I. 1801-1820. 8vo.

The Working Faith of the Social Reformer

and Other Essays. By HENRY JONES, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. 8vo.

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD., LONDON.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

Indian Speeches, 1907-1909. By Viscount MORLEY. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet. By Dr. SVEN HEDIN. With 388 Illustrations from Photographs, Water-colour Sketches, and Drawings by the Author; and 10 Maps. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s. net.

EVENING STANDARD.—"Pages might be filled with quotations showing the extraordinary human and dramatic interest of this book. Othello had not more thrilling narratives to confide to the ear of Desdemona. To a great achievement in the cause of science and superhuman labours Sven Hedin has added a narrative that immediately takes rank as a classic."

In the Grip of the Nyika. Further Adventures in British East Africa. By Lieut.-Colonel J. H. PATTERSON, D.S.O., Author of "The Man-Eaters of Tsavo." With Illustrations. Second Impression. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

MORNING POST.—"In the Grip of Nyika' is characterised by the same simple and direct style which distinguished the earlier volume, the same discrimination which knows how to select from the daily round of experience just those incidents which will make interesting reading, the same power of terse and graphic description."

Light come, Light go. Gambling—Gamesters—Wagers—The Turf. By RALPH NEVILL. With Nine Coloured Plates and other Illustrations. 8vo. 15s. net.

THE OBSERVER.—"A most interesting collection of facts and anecdotes, and the book affords racy reading on every page."

Lord Kelvin's Early Home. Being the Recollections of his Sister, the late Mrs. ELIZABETH KING. With Illustrations. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

The French Pastellists of the Eighteenth Century. Their Lives, their Times, their Art, and their Significance. By HALDANE MACFALL. Edited by T. LEMAN HARE. With 40 examples in colour and 12 in black. Demy 4to. 42s. net.

THE CONNOISSEUR.—"I envy the enjoyment Mr. Macfall must have had in composing the text. It was a subject entirely to his taste, and his enthusiasm carries him forward breathlessly from the first page to the last. . . . So fascinating, so new, so different from the ordinary colour-book."

. Illustrated Prospectus post free on application.

The Rhythm of Modern Music. By C. F. ABDY WILLIAMS. Extra crown 8vo. 5s. net.

THE GLOBE.—"We heartily congratulate Dr. Abdy Williams on this work. . . . The author has treated his subject with a suggestive skill and an intimate feeling for all that is best in the music of our time, which makes this volume one of extreme value and one which all musicians will read with real pleasure."

Æsthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic. Translated from the Italian of Benedetto Croce by DOUGLAS AINSLIE, B.A. (Oxon.). 8vo. 10s. net.

Highways and Byways in Middlesex. By WALTER JERROLD. With Illustrations by HUGH THOMSON, and a Map. Extra crown 8vo. Gilt top. 6s. [*Highways and Byways Series.*]

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD., LONDON.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

A History of English Poetry. By W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D. Vol. VI.—The Romantic Movement in English Poetry; Effects of the French Revolution. 8vo., 10s. net.

. Previously published: Vols. I—V. 10s. net each.

THOMAS HARDY.

Time's Laughing-Stocks and other Poems.

By THOMAS HARDY. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

TIMES.—"There have been a good many volumes of poetry published this year; but has there been one that surpasses or equals this in the indefinable quality of greatness by which human productions survive?"

Handbook of Marks on Pottery and Porcelain. By W. BURTON, M.A., and R. L. HOBSON, B.A. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

The Evolution of Worlds. By PERCIVAL LOWELL, A.B., LL.D., &c., Author of "Mars and its Canals," "Mars as the Abode of Life," &c. Illustrated. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

A Project of Empire: A Critical Study of the Economics of Imperialism, with Special Reference to the Ideas of Adam Smith. By J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

The Common Sense of Political Economy, including a Study of the Human Basis of Economic Law. By PHILIP H. WICKSTEED, M.A. With Diagrams. 8vo. 14s. net.

Introduction to Public Finance. By Professor CARL C. PLEHN, Ph.D. Third Edition, completely Revised and Enlarged. Extra crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

A Latin Anthology. With Photogravure Frontispiece. Ordinary Edition. Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. net. Limp leather, full gilt, back and gilt edge. 3s. 6d. net. [Golden Treasury Series.]

A NEW SERIES. SCIENCE MONOGRAPHS.

Crystalline Structure and Chemical Constitution. By A. E. H. TUTTON, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.S. Illustrated. 8vo. 5s. net.

Mexico. The Wonderland of the South. By W. E. CARSON. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 10s. net.

NEW 6s. NOVELS.

The Education of Uncle Paul. By ALGERNON BLACKWOOD, Author of "Jimbo," &c.

Robert Emmet. An Historical Romance. By STEPHEN GWYNN.

The Human Cobweb. A Romance of Old Peking. By B. L. PUTNAM WEALE, Author of "The Forbidden Boundary," &c. [Shortly.]

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD., LONDON.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

CLASSICAL LIBRARY NEW VOLS.

The Acharnians of Aristophanes. With Introduction, English Prose Translation, Critical Notes, and Commentary. By W. J. M. STARKIE, M.A., Hon. Litt.D. (Dublin), Editor of the "Vespæ." 8vo. 10s. net.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Literary Composition. Being the Greek Text of the "De Compositione Verborum." Edited, with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Glossary, and Appendices, by Professor W. RHYS ROBERTS, Litt.D. 8vo. 10s. net.

Essays on Greek Literature. By R. Y. TYRRELL, Litt.D., LL.D. Crown 8vo. 4s. net.

Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens. By MAURICE CROISSET. Translated by JAMES LOEB. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

The Synoptic Gospels. Edited, with an Introduction and a Commentary, by C. G. MONTEFIORE, together with a Series of Additional Notes by I. ABRAHAMS. In 3 Volumes. Vols. I. and II. 8vo. 18s. net.

Consciousness. By HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL, M.A., Author of Pain, Pleasure and Æsthetics, &c. 8vo. 17s. net.

The author of this work develops in systematic form the psychological doctrines which have formed the basis of his previous writings.

The Law and the Prophets; or, The Revelation of Jehovah in Hebrew History from the Earliest Times to the Capture of Jerusalem by Titus. Being the work entitled "Jéhovah," by Professor WESTPHAL, of Montauban. Translated and Adapted by CLEMENT DU PONTET, M.A. With a Foreword by the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. With Maps. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net. [Shortly.]

Six Lectures on the Faith and Modern Thought. By the Rev. W. TEMPLE, M.A. With an Introduction by Professor MICHAEL SADLER. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net. [Shortly.]

THE AUTHOR OF "PRO CHRISTO ET ECCLESIA."

Absente Reo. By the Author of "Pro Christo et Ecclesia." Crown 8vo. [Shortly.]

Ritschlianism. Being the Essay for the Norrissian Prize, 1908. By ERNEST A. EDGHILL, M.A., Author of "An Enquiry into the Evidential Value of Prophecy." With Preface by the BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK. Crown 8vo. [Shortly.]

Physical Science in the Time of Nero. Being a Translation of the "Questiones Naturales" of Seneca. By JOHN CLARKE, M.A. With Notes on the Subject-Matter by Sir ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, K.C.B. 8vo. [Shortly.]

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD., LONDON.

Just out, 2s. 6d. net.

Ancient and Modern Imperialism

An Address delivered to the Classical Association in January, 1910,

By the EARL OF CROMER, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G.

This is an extension of an address delivered by Lord Cromer, as President of the Classical Association, and is published by permission of the Association. The methods adopted, as also the results obtained in ancient and in modern times are compared. The extent to which assimilation with subject races has been possible in the case of Rome, and in those of England, France and Russia is examined, and the bearing of the language question on the solution of this political problem is discussed.

Just out, 2s. 6d.

The People's Progress

By FRANK IRESON, B.A.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME.

THE NATIONAL INCOME—THE PROPORTION OF POOR PEOPLE—THE DIVISION OF INCOME—SOCIALIST ESTIMATES OF INCOME—THE NATION'S SAVINGS—THE "SURPLUS" INCOME OF THE RICH—INCOME NOT AVAILABLE FOR REDISTRIBUTION—EQUAL REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME—GRADED REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME—MIS-STATEMENTS OF INCOME—INACCURACY OF INCOME-TAX STATISTICS—THE PEOPLE'S PROGRESS—INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

THE REWARDS OF CAPITAL.

THE NATURE OF CAPITAL—THE OPERATION OF CAPITAL—THE THREE FACTORS IN WEALTH-PRODUCTION—THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL—THE REWARDS OF CAPITAL—CAPITALISTS AS TRUSTEES FOR THE PUBLIC—FAMILY AFFECTION THE ONLY INCENTIVE TO THRIFT—"UNEARNED" INCOME—INCREMENT CAUSED BY THE COMMUNITY—THE MASTER OF COMMERCE.

A study of the economic progress made during the last sixty years by the people of the United Kingdom. It discusses the distribution of income and the rewards of capital, and is offered as a corrective to the many exaggerations concerning the alleged wealth of the rich, so freely placed by Socialists before the public. Its chief object is to show that the efficient artisan class, who form 65 per cent. of the population, have nothing to gain, and much to lose, by supporting the cause of Socialism.

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

Messrs. LONGMANS & CO.'S ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE LETTERS OF JOHN STUART MILL.

Edited, with Introduction, by **HUGH ELLIOT.**

With Portraits and other Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. [*In the press.*]

On his death, in 1873, Mill left behind him a record of his correspondence which is almost unique in biographical literature. During the greater part of his life he was in the habit of taking copies of every letter he wrote; and the copies have been carefully preserved. It was Mill's intention that a great part of this correspondence should be published; but for various reasons the publication was delayed, and it is only recently that his heirs have decided that the time has now come for carrying out Mill's intention. The letters extend from 1829 to 1873, and are of wide general interest, political, literary, and philosophical. Mill included among his correspondents almost every distinguished man of his time; and his early letters to Carlyle, John Sterling, and Lytton Bulwer display his character in a wholly new and unexpected light.

THE RISE OF SOUTH AFRICA:

**A History of the Origin of South African Colonisation
and of its Development towards the East from
the Earliest Times to 1857.**

By G. E. CORY,

M.A. King's College, Cambridge, Professor in the Rhodes University College,
Grahamstown, South Africa.

In Four Volumes.

Vol. I. From the Earliest Times to the year 1820. With Map and Illustrations.
[*Nearly ready.*]

**THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY
PARTY from 1870 to 1890.** By **FRANK HUGH O'DONNELL.** With
numerous Illustrations. 2 Vols. 8vo. [*In the press.*]

Mr. F. Hugh O'Donnell was a Member of Parliament in Mr. Butt's party, and afterwards co-operated with, and shortly differed from, Parnell and Parnellites. The book relates the origins of the Home Rule movement, the rise and authorship of the Active Policy, commonly known as obstruction, the intervention of the American-Irish, which produced the Land League, the rise, progress and fall of Mr. Parnell and his relations both with English parties and with American organisations. New and strange light, illustrated by much documentary evidence, will be thrown upon the Land League and the Invincible Conspiracy.

An important portion of the book deals with the relations between the Active Irish Policy and questions of grave imperial interest in South Africa, India, and elsewhere.

GATHORNE HARDY, FIRST EARL OF CRANBROOK.

A Memoir, with Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence. Edited
by the Hon. **ALFRED E. GATHORNE-HARDY.** With Portraits and other
Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. [*In the press.*]

New Book by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb.

ENGLISH POOR LAW POLICY. By **SIDNEY and BEATRICE
WEBB.** 8vo., 7s. 6d. net. [*Nearly ready.*]

This work consists of a detailed analysis of the policy of Parliament and the Local Government Board from 1834 down to the present day, with four supplementary chapters analysing the Majority and Minority Reports.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.
New York, Bombay, and Calcutta.

Messrs. Longmans & Co.'s New Books

SECOND IMPRESSION.

CHRISTIANITY AT THE CROSS ROADS.

By the Rev. GEORGE TYRRELL.

Crown 8vo., 5s. net. (Inland postage, 4d.)

"Christianity at the Cross Roads' is a book to the theologian of extraordinary interest, and perhaps little less so to the psychologist."—*Athenæum*.

"We cannot imagine any thoughtful man reading it without profit and edification."—*Westminster Gazette*.

"The volume is at once a striking testimony to the writer's strong religious feeling and to that fearless honesty of purpose which made him take an independent standpoint, when independence could not be anything but painful."—*Daily Telegraph*.

CHRISTIAN IDEAS AND IDEALS: An Outline of Christian

Ethical Theory. By ROBERT LAWRENCE OTTLEY, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology. 8vo., 7s. 6d. net. (Inland postage, 4d.)

"Dr. Ottley's study of Christian ethical principles is a work of great value. . . . We have said enough to show our high opinion of this treatise, which may be expected to have a wide circulation, as perhaps the soundest exposition of Christian Ethics that has appeared in this country."—PROFESSOR INGE in the *Review of Theology*.

ANNA VAN SCHURMAN: Artist, Scholar, Saint. By UNA

BIRCH. With Illustrations. 8vo., 6s. 6d. net.

This book is the life of a Dutch woman of the 17th century, the close friend of Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, Descartes, Cats, and Huyghens. Together with Jean de Labadie she founded a pietist community for members of both sexes known as the Labadist sect.

"Anna Van Schurman was an Artist, a Scholar, and a Saint, and her story is eminently one that deserves to be told. The authoress has accomplished her work with much success, and we heartily congratulate her on her interesting monograph."—*Church of Ireland Gazette*.

THE FAMILY AND THE NATION: a Study in Natural

Inheritance and Social Responsibility. By WILLIAM CECIL DAMPIER WHETHAM, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, and CATHERINE DURNING WHETHAM, his wife. 8vo., 7s. 6d. net. (Inland postage, 4d.)

"The treatise is a thoughtful and well studied contribution to the literature of the new science of Eugenics."—*Scotsman*.

"A deeply interesting examination into the laws of heredity, &c., as affecting the rise and fall of families."—*Evening Standard*.

WAYSIDE WISDOM: a Book for Quiet People. By E. M.

MARTIN. Crown 8vo., 5s. net. (Inland postage, 4d.)

"The atmosphere of every page is wise and temperate, the pervading tone is literary without bookishness. The author understands the principle of the essay very thoroughly, and she infuses her work with a warm-hearted individuality."—*Daily Telegraph*.

NEW NOVEL BY THE REV. CANON SHEEHAN.

THE BLINDNESS OF DR. GRAY.

By the Very Rev. Canon P. A. SHEEHAN,

Author of "Luke Delmege," "My New Curate," &c. Crown 8vo., 6s. (Inland postage, 4d.)

"The book is profoundly interesting. . . . Dr. Gray himself, as his character is brought out in relation with the orphan niece whom he unwillingly receives, is a figure to be remembered. We have seldom come across anything finer."—*Spectator*.

"In his latest novel Canon Sheehan has recovered that grave and gentle charm, that spiritual atmosphere which made 'My New Curate' and 'Luke Delmege' so refreshing in the arid wastes of modern fiction."—*Outlook*.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

New York, Bombay, and Calcutta.

Messrs. Longmans & Co.'s New Books

THE LAST YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE, 1656-1658.

By CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, M.A., LL.D.,

Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. With 3 Plans. 2 vols. 8vo., 24s. net. (*Inland postage, 7d.*)

"Professor Firth undertook this work at the express wish of Dr. Gardiner, and it could not have been in better hands than that of the Oxford Regius Professor of Modern History."—*Contemporary Review*.

THIRD IMPRESSION. SEVENTH THOUSAND.

GARIBALDI AND THE THOUSAND.

By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN,

Author of "Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic," &c.

With 5 Maps and numerous Illustrations. 8vo., 7s. 6d. net. (*Inland postage, 4d.*)

"The contents of this book are sober history, but read like romance."—*United Service Magazine*.

"The book reads like a romance, but it is in reality a documented historical monograph of a very high order."—*Daily Chronicle*.

ESSAYS RELATING TO IRELAND: Biographical,

Historical, and Topographical. By C. LITTON FALKNER. With a Memoir of the Author by EDWARD DOWDEN, LL.D. 8vo., 9s. net. (*Inland postage, 5d.*)

"Professor Dowden, in the graceful and sympathetic memoir prefixed to this collection of some of his friend's last essays, considers that if Falkner had lived longer he would have 'ranked as Lecky's immediate successor'; and if industry in research, a calm and impartial judgment, and intense loyalty to historic evidence be the qualifications for so eminent a succession, the opinion is not to be gainsaid."—*The Times*.

LETTERS TO "THE TIMES" UPON WAR AND

NEUTRALITY (1881-1909): With some Commentary. By THOMAS ERSKINE HOLLAND, K.C., D.C.L., F.B.A., Chichele Professor of International Law, Vice-Président de l'Institut de Droit International, &c., 8vo., 6s. net. (*Inland postage, 4d.*)

THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA AND THE HANOVERIAN

SUCCESSION. By ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., Master of Peterhouse. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d. net. (*Inland postage, 4d.*)

"The handiest and most compendious account of a period of great importance in the history of England, and is, besides, noteworthy for the broad scholarship and sanity with which it is written."—*Morning Post*.

CHARLES DARWIN AND THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

Addresses, &c. in America and England in the Year of the Two Anniversaries. By E. B. POULTON, F.R.S., Hope Professor of Zoology in the University of Oxford. 8vo., 7s. 6d. net. (*Inland postage, 5d.*)

"This book is a valuable presentation of Darwinism as it appears to the convinced natural selectionist. And the picture which it conveys to us of the personality of Charles Darwin cannot fail to be of interest to any one who welcomes every fact which throws a new light on the life of the great naturalist."—*The Times*.

BEASTS AND MEN. By CARL HAGENBECK. Being his Experi-

ences for Half-a-Century among Wild Animals. An abridged Translation by HUGH S. R. ELLIOT and G. A. THACKER, A.R.C.S. (Lond.) With an Introduction by P. CHALMERS MITCHELL, M.A. D.Sc. With Photogravure Portrait of the Author and 99 other Illustrations. 8vo., 12s. 6d. net. (*Inland postage, 5d.*)

"One of the most fascinating books of the season."—*Daily Graphic*.

"No more thoroughly interesting book has been published this season than 'Beasts and Men.' . . . It is crammed full of stories of adventure and daring, and of natural history in its most fascinating form."—*National Press Agency*.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

New York, Bombay, and Calcutta.

The Two Most Popular Publications
in the Church of England to-day.

The Church Times

WEEKLY, ONE PENNY.

The Treasury

MONTHLY, SIXPENCE, ILLUSTRATED.

~~~~~  
**OF ALL NEWSAGENTS.**  
 ~~~~~

London: G. J. PALMER & SONS, 7, Portugal Street, W.C.

Of interest to every Political Worker. Of value in the Election.
Of permanent value as a guide to Unionist Principles
and Hard Facts.

THE "SATURDAY" HANDBOOK

FOR UNIONIST CANDIDATES, SPEAKERS, AND WORKERS.

EDITED BY

The Hon. GERVASE BECKETT, M.P., & GEOFFREY ELLIS.

This HANDBOOK is unique. It contains articles by leading Unionists, and notes and data on the various topics.

Ireland	The Rt. Hon. Walter Long, M.P.	Licensing	George Cave, K.C., M.P.
The Army	The Rt. Hon. George Wyndham, M.P.	The New Finance	F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P.
Tariff Reform.....	A. Bonar Law, M.P.	Agricultural Land	Viscount Helmsley, M.P.
Urban Land.....	E. G. Pretyman, M.P.	India	The Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P.
Navy	Arthur H. Lee, M.P.	Social Legislation	Sir William Bull, M.P.
House of Lords	Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.	Unemployment ...	The Hon. Claude Hay, M.P.
Education.....	Sir William Anson, K.C., M.P.	The Budget ...	Arthur Baumann
The Imperial Problem	Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P.	Foreign Affairs...	Mark Sykes
		Socialism.....	J. L. Garvin
		The Position of the Church	Harold Hodge

With a letter from THE RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P.

Order from your Bookseller, 2s. 6d. net, or direct from the Office. Post free, 2s. 10d.

THE WEST STRAND PUBLISHING CO., Ltd.
 10, KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C.

THE PERSONAL EQUATION.

IN the end all knowledge bases itself on biography—on what this or that man or woman thought or did or said or discovered. Hence the ever-recurring need — whether you are a business man or politician, a journalist, author, scientist, or student, or merely a looker-on at life—to know who such a person was, what part he really played in history, how he came to make his invention or discovery, or the actual opinions So-and-so held. This is the need met by

THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

which contains more than 80,000 authenticated concise records of the careers of men and women notable in history, in war and travel, in colonisation, in philosophy, all branches of science, medicine, surgery, religion, literature, politics, law, music, art, commerce, industry, and the drama. Place has been found also for those who have occupied national positions in sport or society, and even in crime. A list of sources whence information has been derived is appended to every memoir, so that the student requiring fuller knowledge is directed where to find it. The growth of the great noble families of the three kingdoms has been traced, while much genealogical data respecting old-established county families has been brought together in a readily intelligible form.

Originally published in 66 volumes, the dictionary has now, by use of thinner paper, been reprinted in 22 volumes, identical in contents and in type and size of page with the first edition, while the price is proportionately reduced to £16 10s., thus making it as accessible as it is indispensable to the private library.

There is no better purchase, whether for yourself or for a son or friend, than

THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

It will prove its value day after day and year after year. For it is the history of our national progress, social and scientific, as well as military and industrial, written in the lives of all notable persons down to the death of Queen Victoria.

Cloth, Gilt Top	- - - -	15s. net each.
Half-Morocco	- - - -	21s. „ „
The Set (22 vols., Cloth)	-	£16 10s. „ instead of £49 10s.
„ („ Half-Morocco)	£23 2s. „ „	£69 6s.

Ask your bookseller to show you the volumes or write for Prospectus.

LONDON: SMITH, ELDER & CO., 15, WATERLOO PLACE.

FROM JAMES CLARKE & CO.'S LIST

FACES IN THE MIST

AN EXCEPTIONALLY STRONG NEW NOVEL

By JOHN A. STEUART,

Author of "The Minister of State," "Wine on the Lees," "A Son of Gad," &c. With Four Illustrations by T. H. ROBINSON. Large crown 8vo., cloth boards, 6s.

"Mr. Steuart's buoyancy and spirit will carry you through pleasantly."—*The Times*.

"It is a story, this, with the vigour, the 'go,' and the colour which make a good story."—*Daily Chronicle*.

J. B. PATON, M.A., D.D., Educational and Social Pioneer.

By JAMES MARCHANT. Photogravure Portrait and Illustrations on art paper. Large crown 8vo., cloth boards, gilt top, 4s. 6d. net.

ASPECTS OF THE SPIRITUAL. By J. BRIERLEY, B.A., Author of "Sidelights on Religion," "Ourselves and the Universe," &c. Large crown 8vo., cloth boards, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

A CHALLENGE TO MONISM.

PROBLEMS OF IMMANENCE. Studies Critical and Constructive. By J. WARSCHAUER, M.A., D.Phil. Author of "The New Evangel," "Jesus: Seven Questions," &c. Crown 8vo., cloth boards, 2s. 6d. net.

LIFE IN HIS NAME. A Devotional Volume. By DAVID M. M'INTYRE, Author of "The Hidden Life of Prayer," &c. Handsomely bound in cloth boards, gilt edges, with headband and marker, 3s. 6d. net.

LONDON: JAMES CLARKE & CO., 13 & 14, FLEET ST., E.C., and all Booksellers.

MURRAY'S

ILLUSTRATED BIBLE DICTIONARY.

Combining Modern Research with Ancient Faith.

WRITTEN BY LEADING SCHOLARS OF TO-DAY AND INCLUDING THE RESULTS OF MODERN RESEARCH.

Edited by the Rev. WM. C. PIERCY, M.A.

With numerous Illustrations and Maps. 21s.

From several communications which have reached him, Mr. Murray learns that there is a general desire for the issue of this work on the instalment system.

Although this system is one which does not in general commend itself to him, yet he cannot but feel that the present case is an exceptional one, and that only good can arise from bringing this magnificent work of reference, which every clergyman and theological student should possess, within the easy reach of all.

It has therefore been arranged that for the present this Dictionary can be purchased for a sum of 5s., sent with the order, *on receipt of which the work will at once be despatched, carriage paid*, and six subsequent monthly instalments of 2s. 6d. per month.

If you should be unable to examine a copy at your Bookseller's, Mr. Murray will be glad to send you one on approval, *carriage paid*, on receiving your request, addressed to 50a, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.

This copy may be retained if you decide to purchase the book, but the order and payments must be made through a bookseller. Otherwise the copy should be returned to Mr. Murray, *carriage paid, within a week*.

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

BLACKWOODS' BOOKS.

THE LETTERS OF JOHN STUART BLACKIE

TO HIS WIFE. With a Few Earlier Ones to his Parents. Selected and Edited by his Nephew, A. STODART WALKER. 12s. 6d. net.

[Second Impression.

"Nothing that has been written upon the late Professor Blackie can be brought into even distant comparison with this volume as a revelation of a very remarkable personality. The marvellous variety and vivacity of these letters is scarcely to be even indicated in a brief review."—*Glasgow Herald*.

SIR WALTER SCOTT'S FRIENDS. By FLORENCE

MACCUNN, Author of "Mary Stuart." With Portraits. 10s. net.

[Second Impression.

"Saturated with knowledge of the later Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century, is enriched by original research, and brightened up with sympathetic humour."—*Morning Post*.

"If anything could revivify a taste for his solid worth and stir up within these degenerates the desire to know something of Scott and his works, it should be this book of Mrs. MacCunn's."—*Daily Chronicle*.

THE WORK AND PLAY OF A GOVERNMENT

INSPECTOR. By HERBERT PRESTON-THOMAS, C.B. With a Preface by the Right Hon. JOHN BURNS, M.P. 10s. 6d. net.

"Bubbling over with good stories... The pages sparkle, and no one who picks the book up is likely to lay it down unfinished."—*Times*.

THE ENCHANTED ISLAND, and other Poems.

By ALFRED NOYES, Author of "Drake: an English Epic," "Forty Singing Seamen," "The Forest of Wild Thyme," &c. 5s. net.

"Mr. Alfred Noyes is to be congratulated on a most notable achievement, and to be thanked for a book which illustrates so abundantly the fact that poetry is still flourishing in the land of Keats and Shelley, Swinburne and Meredith."—*Daily Telegraph*.

"Charming, dexterous, brilliant verse... Mr. Noyes has done excellent and memorable work."—*Westminster Gazette*.

"Full of exquisite work."—*Daily Chronicle*.

HECTOR AND ACHILLES: A Tale of Troy.

Rendered into English after the Chronicle of Homer by RICHARD SHEEP-SHANKS, of the Indian Civil Service, sometime Senior Classical Scholar, St. John's College, Cambridge; and Bell Scholar, Cambridge University. Illustrated by J. FINNEMORE. Square crown 8vo. 5s. net.

MAJOR OWEN, and Other Tales. By CHRISTOPHER

N. JOHNSTON, K.C., LL.D. 6s.

A NEW NOVEL by the Author of

CAPTAIN DESMOND, V.C., and THE GREAT AMULET

(Both of which are now issued in the Popular Shilling Form).

CANDLES IN THE WIND. By MAUD DIVER. 6s.

[Fourth Impression.

Mrs. Diver's previous books have reached a circulation of 100,000 copies.

"Mrs. Diver writes of the English in India with a vividness of description and sympathy hardly exceeded by the best of her rivals... Emphatically a story to read."—*Country Life*.

THE PATH TO HONOUR. By SYDNEY C. GRIER, Author of "The Warden of the Marches," &c. 6s. [Third Impression.

THE BLUFFSHIRE COURIER. By PENTLAND PEILE, Author of "Clanbrae." 6s.

BLACK MARK. By "A WHISPER," a brilliant New Author. 6s. [Second Impression.

THE BACKGROUND. By W. J. ECCOTT, Author of "His Indolence of Arras," &c. 6s.

SOME EVERYDAY FOLK AND DAWN. By MILES FRANKLIN, Author of "My Brilliant Career." 6s.

A MAN'S MAN. By IAN HAY, Author of "The Right Stuff," &c. 6s. [Second Impression.

READ "The most Brilliant
of all the Magazines"

"BLACKWOOD."

W. BLACKWOOD & SONS, Edinburgh and London.

By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

THE GREATEST WORK ON MAN'S HEREAFTER.

Svo., cloth, 2/-, post free.

HEAVEN AND HELL: FROM THINGS HEARD AND SEEN.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING wrote: "To my mind, the only light that has been cast on the other life is found in Swedenborg's philosophy."

Complete Presentation of Swedenborg's Teachings.

With Biography and Portrait, Svo., cloth, 2/6.

A COMPENDIUM OF SWEDENBORG'S THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS.

Consisting of extracts from all his works arranged under heads, to present a complete account of his religion and philosophy.

LONDON: SWEDENBORG SOCIETY, 1, BLOOMSBURY STREET, W.C.

JUST PUBLISHED.

HAZELL'S ANNUAL FOR 1910.

No Party, Religious or Other Bias. Just Facts.

NEW FEATURES.

Signed Articles by Specialists of World-Wide Fame.

Sir Hiram Maxim on "MAN-FLIGHT."

Lady Frances Balfour on "WOMAN SUFFRAGE."

Sir Arundel Arundel on "INDIA: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW."

Lucien Wolf on "THE HUSH IN EUROPE."

Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., on

"THE NEW THEORIES OF MATTER."

Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., on

"THE COLOUR QUESTION IN THE EMPIRE."

Dr. W. Evans Darby on

"THE PROGRESS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT."

AND HUNDREDS OF OTHER ARTICLES.

700 pages of absolutely reliable FACTS and FIGURES.

PRICE 3/6 NET, CLOTH COVERS.

The Times says: "HAZELL'S ANNUAL contains the essence of a whole library of works of reference. It is a double-distilled extract of the news of the past year; a biographical dictionary in miniature; a handbook to all our institutions; and generally an aid to understanding how the world goes on, and how history is made."

LONDON: HAZELL, WATSON & VINEY, Ltd., 52, Long Acre, W.C.

A CHEAP EDITION. 2/6 net.

The Principles and Methods of Taxation.

By G. ARMITAGE SMITH, M.A., D.Litt.,

Principal of the Birkbeck College.

In view of the great amount of attention at present being paid to the problems of taxation, it has been thought advisable to issue a new and cheaper edition of Dr. Armitage-Smith's standard work. It presents in a concise and simple form an account of the British system of taxation, and the principles on which it is based, together with some of the leading historical facts in its evolution. The book will be found invaluable by all serious students of this subject.

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

ASK for OUR

CLEARANCE
CATALOGUES

ISSUED MONTHLY & SUPPLIED GRATIS
OF NEW & USED BOOKS

THE BEST RECENT
POPULAR & IMPORTANT
WORKS OF
GENERAL LITERATURE
AT EXCEPTIONAL REDUCTIONS

W·H·SMITH & SONS
BOOKSTALLS & BOOKSHOPS

throughout the Country
Head Office:- 186 Strand, London, W.C.

YOUR EVENING NEWSPAPER

Occupying the premier position among the evening papers, and having a wide influence among thinking men and women, the WESTMINSTER GAZETTE is in all respects the most complete Evening Newspaper. Its final editions contain all the Parliamentary, social, financial, and sporting news of the day, treated with completeness, fairness, and accuracy, while the fulness and authority of its book reviews are unequalled.

YOUR WEEKLY PAPER

If you want a Weekly Paper that is always interesting, read the SATURDAY WESTMINSTER. It has secured a unique position by literary discrimination and sanity of judgment of its notices of new books. It contains all F. C. G.'s Cartoons of the Week; a page of literary problems; short stories and literary sketches; an article on dress; photographic notes; a chess column, &c., &c.

PRICE ONE PENNY PRICE ONE PENNY

Offices : SALISBURY SQUARE, FLEET STREET. E.C.

SCIENCE PROGRESS

in the Twentieth Century.

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC WORK AND THOUGHT.

EDITED BY

H. E. ARMSTRONG, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S., J. BRETLAND FARMER, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., and W. G. FREEMAN, B.Sc., F.L.S.

JANUARY.

Illustrated.

5s. net.

Some Factors which Determine Fertility in Soils. E. J. RUSSELL, D.Sc.

"That Bad Beverage, Beer." ADRIAN J. BROWN.

Palæolithic Races, and their Modern Representatives. PART VI (Conclusion). W. J. SOLLAS, Sc.D., F.R.S.

Science and Practice of Para Rubber Cultivation. JOHN PARKIN, M.A., F.L.S.

Progress of Meteoric Astronomy. W. P. DENNING, F.R.A.S.

Sex and Sexual Characters. J. T. CUNNINGHAM, M.A.

Recent Hydrobiological Investigations. Part I.—The Gulf Streams and Climate and Crops in Northern Europe. JAMES JOHNSTONE, B.Sc.

Halley's Comet from the Norman Point of View. W. B. BRODRICK.

The Phylogeny: Inter-relationships of the Green Algae. F. E. FRITSCH, Ph.D., D.Sc., F.L.S.

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

HARPER & BROTHERS.

THE VALOUR OF IGNORANCE.

By GEN. HOMER LEA.

Demy 8vo.

Maps, &c.

7s. 6d. net.

"Everybody who is anybody will be compelled to read this book. It shows how surely the hour of desolation will strike for a nation whose wealth and luxury stand in inverse ratio to its military strength. The deductions are applied to the concrete possibility of war between the United States and Japan for the mastery of the Pacific."—*The Times*.

"Almost all that General Lea says applies to Great Britain as forcibly as to the United States."—*Daily Mail*.

"General Lea's military and naval argument is set forth with extraordinary minuteness and is quite convincing."—*Spectator*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Madame Du Barry. 7s. 6d.
Portrait. By H. NOEL WILLIAMS.

"Written with care, knowledge, and with grace."—*Daily Chronicle*.

Seven English Cities. 10s. 6d.
Illustrated. By W. D. HOWELLS.

"He writes charmingly and colloquially."—*Manchester Guardian*.

"An old campaigner on beaten and unbeaten paths."—*Scotsman*.

Going Down from Jerusalem. 6s.
Illustrated. By NORMAN DUNCAN.

"The author has an artist's eye and a cultured literary art . . . The actualities of present-day travelling."—*Scotsman*.

FICTION.

Mary E. Wilkins. 5s.
Illustrated. *The Winning Lady*.

"Their appeal is the widest, and they are imbued most fully with delicate insight and tender sympathy."—*Ladies Field*.

Booth Tarkington. 3s. 6d.
Illustrated. *Beasley's Christmas Party*.

"This charming writer has written a quaint and delicately humorous tale for the winter fireside."—*Scotsman*.

Amélie Rives. 3s. 6d.
Illustrated. *Trix and Over-the-Moon*.

"We heartily commend this charming story to every man or woman who loves a horse."—*Globe*.

HARPER'S LIBRARY OF LIVING THOUGHT.

Per vol. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net. Leather, 3s. 6d. net.

Latest issues (please write for complete list).

ROMAN LAW IN MEDIAEVAL EUROPE.

By Professor PAUL VINOGRADOFF.

"This brilliant book is worthy of a place beside Maine's 'Ancient Law,' to which it forms an invaluable sequel."—*Glasgow Herald*.

DIAMONDS.

Illustrated. By SIR WILLIAM CROOKES.
"Based on personal observation at Kimberley and on personal researches on the artificial production of the diamond."—*The Times*.

CRETE THE FORERUNNER OF GREECE.

Maps, &c. By C. H. and H. BOYD HAWES.

"Successfully renders service in enabling the ordinary intelligent reader to gain a comprehensive idea of this 'Greece beyond Greece' brought to light on Cretan soil."—Dr. ARTHUR EVANS.

HARPER & BROTHERS, 45, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

SECOND-HAND BOOKSELLERS' LIST.

FRANCIS EDWARDS,

BOOKSELLER,

75, High Street, Marylebone, LONDON, W.

100,000 VOLUMES ALWAYS ON VIEW.

TOPOGRAPHICAL, ANTIQUARIAN, & ARCHITECTURAL BOOKS.

NAVAL AND MILITARY LITERATURE.

Books and Prints relating to India.

Catalogues issued.

Arrangements have been made with Booksellers enabling them to offer Special Terms for Complete Sets of any of the following Works.

Application should be made to your Bookseller, from whom particulars may be obtained.

	PUBLISHED PRICE.
	£ s. d.
Bates, H. W. A Naturalist on the Amazon. 8vo.	18 0
Brugsch, Professor. Egypt under the Pharaohs.	
Illustrations. Demy 8vo.	18 0
Darwin, Charles. Life and Letters. 3 vols. 8vo.	1 16 0
Elphinstone, Hon. M. Rise of the British Power	
in the East. 8vo.	16 0
Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of The	
Roman Empire. 8 vols. 8vo.	3 0 0
Goldsmith, Oliver, Works. 4 vols. 8vo.	1 10 0
Grote's History of Greece. 10 vols.	2 10 0
Milman's History of Latin Christianity. 9 vols. ...	1 16 0
Early	0 12 0
Motley, John" Lothrop. History of the United	
Netherlands; from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve	
Years' Truce, 1609. Portraits. Library Edition. Demy 8vo.	
4 vols. 10s. 6d. net each.	
Life and Death of John of Barneveld. Illus-	
trations. Library Edition. Demy 8vo. 2 vols. 10s. 6d. net each	4 14 6
History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic.	
With Illustrations. Library Edition. Demy 8vo. 3 vols. 10s. 6d.	
net each.	
Pope, Alexander, Life and Works. 9 vols. complete	
8vo. 10 vols.	5 5 0
Robertson's History of the Christian Church. 8 vols.	2 8 0
Smith, Sir Wm. A Dictionary of the Bible. 3 vols.	
8vo.	4 4 0
Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. The	
History, Institutions, and Antiquities of the Christian Church.	
Edited by Sir WM. SMITH, D.C.L., and Archdeacon CHEETHAM,	
D.D. With Illustrations. 2 vols. Medium 8vo.	3 13 6
Dictionary of Christian Biography, Litera-	
ture, Sects, and Doctrines. Edited by Sir WM. SMITH, D.C.L.,	
and HENRY WACE, D.D. 4 vols. Medium 8vo.	6 16 6

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

SECOND-HAND BOOKSELLERS' LIST.

JUST ISSUED.

Catalogue of Interesting SECOND-HAND BOOKS IN GENERAL LITERATURE.

Messrs. Hatchard request the honour of a visit to inspect
their extensive Collection of Second-hand & Rare Books.

HATCHARDS, 187, PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.

A. Lionel Isaacs,

59, PICCADILLY, W.

RARE BOOKS, AUTOGRAPHS, & MSS.

Speciality:—French Illustrated Books
of the Eighteenth Century, and Modern
French Editions de Luxe.

. Gentlemen wishing to dispose of any of these
will oblige by kindly reporting same to me.

CATALOGUE OF RARE BOOKS AND
MSS. NOW READY.

LUZAC & CO.

Oriental and Foreign . . .
Publishers and Booksellers,

46, Great Russell Street,
LONDON, W.C.

Contractors to H.M. Indian Government,
Official Agents to the India Office, the Royal
Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,
the University of Chicago, &c., &c.

Luzac & Co. make a . . .

**SPECIALITY OF ORIENTAL LITERATURE.
JUST PUBLISHED.**

Hindupore.—A Peep behind the Indian
Unrest. An Anglo-Indian Romance. By
S. M. METRA. 8vo., cloth, pp. viii. 317. 6s.

The Classical Quarterly and The Classical Review.

The **Classical Quarterly** and **Classical
Review** have been acquired by the Classical
Association and constituted official organs of
that Association and of the Philological Societies
of Oxford and Cambridge, and will in future be
published by Mr. Murray. They will appear as
heretofore: the **Quarterly** in the months of
January, April, July, and October; the **Review**
in the remaining eight months.

The Terms of Subscription for one year, post
free, are:—

Classical Review	7s. 6d.
Classical Quarterly	12s. 6d.
Both together	18s. 0d.

**Bibles,
Prayer
Books,**

8s.

The Largest Selection
of Oxford and other
Editions for Lectern,
Reading Desk, Altar,
and Private Use.

Daily Service Book.
Priest's Pocket Bible,
&c.

New Lists Now Ready,
sent post free.

Tel. No. 320 Central.

THE LONDON BIBLE WAREHOUSE,
53, Paternoster Row, E.C.

ELLIS,

Dealers in Old and Rare Books, Manuscripts
Autographs, Prints and Ex-Libris.

LIBRARIES ARRANGED, CATALOGUED,
VALUED, AND PURCHASED.
(Business Founded 1728.)

The following Catalogues have been recently issued,
and will be sent to Collectors on application.

ENGLISH LITERATURE ; 2 Parts, Nos. 116 - 117.

BIBLIOGRAPHY, &c., No. 120.

AMERICANA, &c., No. 124.

INCUNABULA, and Early English Books, No. 125.

British TOPOGRAPHY and History, &c., No. 126.

Books relating to MUSIC : Nos. X. and XI.

British and Foreign BOOK-PLATES : Nos. V.-VI.

Engraved PORTRAITS, Nos. 14-15.

Miscellaneous ENGRAVINGS, No. 16.

29, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W.

. . . THE . . .

GENERAL ELECTION, 1910.

A large stock of Books and Pamphlets, English
and Foreign, New and Secondhand, on

**HISTORY, ECONOMICS, and
SOCIAL QUESTIONS.**

Catalogues and Lists of New Books on application

BOWES & BOWES,

1, Trinity Street, Cambridge.

Which is the BEST Illustrated Newspaper?
Which gives the fullest and best record of current events?
Which is the most popular?

The General Consensus of Opinion is that

THE SPHERE

takes the lead.

**THE PAPER, THE PRINTING, AND THE
ILLUSTRATIONS ARE THE BEST.**

English people are naturally conservative and loth to change, and that is a good characteristic, but we must move with the times.

Ask your newsagent to send you **THE SPHERE** for a few weeks. You will then be able to judge whether your home will not be the brighter for taking in so excellent a publication.

PRICE SIXPENCE WEEKLY.

Can be obtained of all Newsagents and at all Bookstalls.

In the most exclusive circles of London Society, to which few other journals have the entrée,

. . . The . . .

Onlooker

has won a premier place by reason of its many unique features. It has earned a reputation for chronicling the doings of Society with discrimination and accuracy.

NOW ENLARGED AND IMPROVED.

Price 6d. Every Wednesday. Fully Illustrated.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:

		UNITED KINGDOM.	ABROAD.
6 Months	...	14/-	17/6
12 Months	...	28/-	35/-

A Specimen Copy will be sent post free on receipt of a post card addressed to THE MANAGER, THE ONLOOKER, 16, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

The experienced typewriter operator may consider visibility of writing of little importance. To a beginner it will prove of material assistance.

**THE
NEW MODEL
YÖST**

whilst retaining many invaluable Yöst features,

Writes in Sight

and has unequalled facilities for invoicing and accountancy work, the drafting of specifications, &c., &c.

FULL OF NEW AND VALUABLE FEATURES.

Full Particulars on application.

THE YÖST TYPEWRITER CO., LTD.,

Head Office:

50, Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.

BRANCHES EVERYWHERE.

S.F.I.

THOUSANDS IN USE!

Ordinary
Pen and Ink.



Not Messy.
No Trouble.

The occasional important letter copied as you write it, by the

CERES Writing Copier (PATENTED)

THE LATEST TESTIMONIAL (of hundreds) :—SIR ARCHIBALD J. MACDONALD, Bart., Woolmer, Liphook.—"I get the best results with your *Ceres Copier*. It is a pity it is not more widely known, and its great perfection more fully realised."

Write for full particulars, with specimen of writing and copy; also illustrated Catalogue of the Vertical System of Keeping Letters in Boxes, Cabinets, &c., which is fast displacing all flat plans.

CERES LIMITED, 10r, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE

For Art Lovers & Collectors.

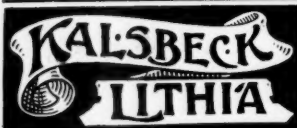
Monthly, 2s. 6d. net.

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE makes a special feature of publishing each month the latest discoveries in the Art World. Its contributors are the highest authorities on their respective subjects. Its illustrations are finer than any other Art Magazine, and the Magazine aims in its reviewing at being a complete guide to the Literature of the Fine Arts.

A Classified List of the principal articles that have appeared in the Magazine from 1903-1906 will be sent by the Publishers on receipt of a postcard.

This List includes important articles on the following subjects: Architecture—Arms and Armour—Books, Binding and Manuscripts—Bronze—Carpets—Ceramics and Glass—Embroideries and Lace—Enamels—Engravings and Drawings—Furniture—Goldsmiths' Work—Greek Art—Ivories—Lead Work—Medals and Seals—Miniatures—Mosaics—Painters and Painting—Playing Cards—Sculpture—Silver, Pewter and Plate—Stained Glass—Tapestries.

Annual Subscription (including Indices) Thirty-two Shillings, post free. Of all Booksellers, and of
THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE Ltd., 17, Old Burlington Street, W.



The World's Best Lithia Table Water.

A certain remedy for Gout, Rheumatism, Acidity, &c.

Write for Pamphlet: The New Treatment of Gout, &c.

Sold everywhere, or Carriage Paid from the Sole Proprietors:

REID & DONALD, PERTH, N.B.

JUST OUT. In Paper Covers. 1s. net.

THE PLACE OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE.

Being an address delivered before the Philosophical Institute of Edinburgh.

By **LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON.**

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

Waterman's IDEAL Fountain Pen Your Choice.

If you have had no experience of Fountain Pens, and you are undecided which one to purchase, choose the one which the world's busiest writers have found to be the best—
Waterman's Ideal. Profit by their experience.

Mr. SYDNEY WHITMAN writes:—"Although I have received at different times various kinds of Fountain Pens as Presents, I have, nevertheless, been obliged to invest in a Waterman's Ideal, and now use it exclusively."

PRICES.—10/6, 12/6, 15/6, 17/6, 21/6, and upwards. In Silver and Gold for Presentation. Of Stationers and Jewellers, &c. Booklet post free from L. & C. HARDTMUTH, 12, Golden Lane, London, E.C. New York: 173, Broadway. Paris: 6, Rue de Hanovre. Vienna: 1 Franzensring 20. Milan: Via Bossi 4. Dresden: Pragerstrasse 6. Brussels: 14, Rue du Pont Neuf.

Ask to see Waterman's Ideal Pump-Filling and Safety Pens, 12/6 upwards.



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS. 2/6 net.

THE NAVY LEAGUE ANNUAL 1909—1910.

Edited by ALAN H. BURGOYNE.

Demy 8vo.

"*The Navy League Annual* as it stands to-day is really a model of what such a book of reference should be . . . a series of essays on Naval matters worthy of the closest study. Anyone who wishes to learn all that can be learnt, theoretically, concerning ships and the sea cannot do better than to buy this admirable volume for half-a-crown."—*National Defence*.

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

TURKISH RÉGIE CIGARETTES

Prices 2/9 to
13/- per 100

Made in Constantinople under special concession
from the Imperial Ottoman Government.

Assorted Samples of 12 Cigarettes, post free, on
receipt of P.O. for 1s.

West End Depot: RÉGIE, 83, Piccadilly, London, W.
Offices and Warehouse: 152—158, Wardour Street, W.

... THE ...

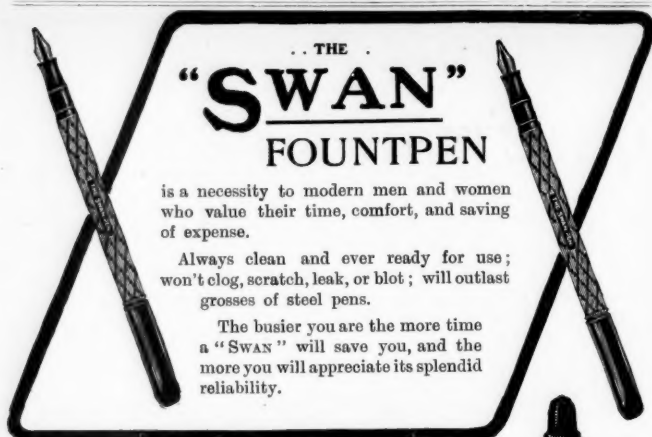
"SWAN"

FOUNT PEN

is a necessity to modern men and women who value their time, comfort, and saving of expense.

Always clean and ever ready for use; won't clog, scratch, leak, or blot; will outlast grosses of steel pens.

The busier you are the more time a "SWAN" will save you, and the more you will appreciate its splendid reliability.



Prices from 10/6.

SOLD BY STATIONERS AND JEWELLERS.

Write for Catalogue, post free.

MABIE, TODD & CO., 79 & 80, High Holborn, LONDON, W.C.

93, Chancery Lane, E.C. : 95a, Regent Street, W. : 3, Exchange Street, Manchester. Brussels, Paris, New York and Chicago.



6d. and 1/-

Opposite the British Museum.

THACKERAY HOTEL

GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON.

Near the British Museum.

KINGSLEY HOTEL

HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, LONDON.

These well-appointed and commodious TEMPERANCE HOTELS will, it is believed, meet the requirements, at moderate charges, of those who desire all the conveniences and advantages of the larger modern Licensed Hotels.

These Hotels have PASSENGER LIFTS, BATHROOMS ON EVERY FLOOR, LOUNGES AND SPACIOUS DINING, DRAWING, WRITING, READING, BILLIARD AND SMOKING ROOMS.

Perfect Sanitation. Fireproof Floors. Telephones. Night Porters.

BEDROOMS (including attendance), Single, from 3s. 6d. to 6s. 0d.

Inclusive Charge for Bedroom, Attendance, Table d'Hôte Breakfast and Dinner, from 8s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. per day.

Full Tariff and Testimonials on application.

Telegraphic Addresses—

THACKERAY HOTEL,
"THACKERAY, LONDON."

KINGSLEY HOTEL,
"BOOKCRAFT, LONDON."

Our London Charities

The Quarterly Review Charities Advertiser

January, 1910.

INDISCRIMINATE Charity, we are told, often does as much harm as good. Of all times, now, in the middle of winter and at the beginning of a new year charitable feelings are stirred by countless piteous appeals. As no one can give to all, it is specially necessary that what is given should be employed in the best possible way for the relief of sickness and want. Any subscriptions or donations given to any of the Institutions mentioned in the following pages will be spent in this best possible way.

Index to Charities subjoined to the Appeal:—

	PAGE
Church of England Waifs and Strays Society	5
Hospital for Sick Children	3
"Liberator" Relief Fund	6
Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage	6
Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital	3
Royal Alfred Aged Merchant Seamen's Institution	5
Shipwrecked Fishermen and Mariners' Royal Benevolent Society	4
Society for Relief of Distressed Jews	4

THE HOSPITAL FOR SICK CHILDREN GREAT ORMOND STREET, W.C.

President—THE DUKE OF FIFE, K.T.

Chairman—ARTHUR LUCAS, ESQ.



On Valentine's Day, fifty-seven years ago, the Hospital began its work in the house shown in the picture. Six years later the adjoining house was added by money subscribed at a Festival Dinner at which Charles Dickens presided.

Speaking on that occasion Charles Dickens said:—

"I will not believe in a Christian community of fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, the Children's Hospital can fail being better known to be well and richly endowed."

The Children's Hospital, now in URGENT NEED of FUNDS, appeals to all who love children to make known its wants and to help in relieving them.

STEWART JOHNSON, *Secretary*.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S LYING-IN HOSPITAL MARYLEBONE ROAD, LONDON, N.W.

Founded 1752. Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1885.

Patron—HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

Vice-Patron—H.R.H. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

President—THE VISCOUNT PORTMAN.

Treasurer—ALFRED C. DE ROTHSCHILD, ESQ., C.V.O.

Chairman—SIR SAMUEL SCOTT, BART., M.P.

OBJECTS OF THE CHARITY.

1. To provide an Asylum for the delivery of Poor Married Women; and also of Deserving Unmarried Women *with their first child*.
2. To provide skilled Midwives to attend poor Married Women in their Confinements *at their own homes*.
3. The Training of Medical Pupils, Midwives for the Poor, and Monthly Nurses.

Since the foundation of the Hospital **130,000 poor women have been relieved**. Last year 1,865 Patients were received into the Hospital, and 2,169 were attended and nursed at their own Homes.

Annual expenditure of the Charity **£8,500**; **Reliable Income**, **£4,000 only**.

An Annual Subscription of £3 3s., or a Donation of £31 10s., entitles the Contributor to recommend One In-patient and Three Out-patients yearly, and qualifies for election as Governor. Contributions will be gratefully received by the Bankers, Messrs. Cocks, Biddulph & Co., 43, Charing Cross, S.W., or by

ARTHUR WATTS, *Secret a y*

SOCIETY FOR RELIEF OF DISTRESSED JEWS (SYRIAN COLONIZATION FUND).

The Jews in Russia have no security for life—and thousands seek shelter in Palestine where, though destitute, they are safe. The Turkish Government are willing to admit 20,000 more.

This Society gives Relief in Food and Clothes to 1,500 families of the sick and feeble, and work at Abraham's Vineyard to over 70 men and boys.

FUNDS NEEDED

that more may be helped
'in token of Christian Sympathy.'

The Gift of Drinking Water is warmly appreciated by the Jews.

DONATIONS RECEIVED by:—

F. A. BEVAN, Esq., J.P., D.L., *President and Hon. Treasurer,*
54, LOMBARD STREET, E.C.
Messrs. DRUMMOND, *Bankers, 49, CHARING CROSS, S.W.;*
and by
E. A. FINN, *Secretary, 117, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.*
(late 41, Parliament Street).

THE SHIPWRECKED

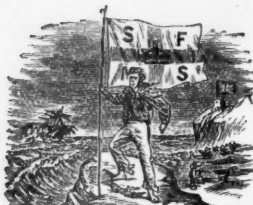
**OVER 600,000
PERSONS RELIEVED**

**Fishermen
and**

MARINERS'

Royal Benevolent SOCIETY

FOUNDED IN 1839.



"There is Sorrow on the Sea."

The Wrecked Sailor, Fisherman, etc., are instantly cared for on the spot and sent home; the Widow, Orphan, etc., of the drowned immediately sought out and succoured. All Seafarers, under Provident section, are directly encouraged in self-help.

CONTRIBUTIONS URGENTLY NEEDED.

Patron: HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

President—THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL CADOGAN, K.G.

Chairman—ADMIRAL W. F. S. MANN.

Secretary—

G. E. MAUDE, Esq., 26 SUFFOLK STREET, PALL MALL EAST, LONDON, S.W.

ROYAL ALFRED

AGED MERCHANT SEAMEN'S INSTITUTION.

ESTABLISHED 1867.

Patron: H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., K.T.

The ROYAL ALFRED INSTITUTION provides a *Home* or an *Out-Pension* for the destitute and deserving seamen of the British Mercantile Marine when age and infirmity overtake them.

After long years of faithful and heroic service, do not let it be said of one of them that

"Where he goes and how he fares,
No one knows and no one cares."

Contributions are urgently needed.

2600 Already Relieved.

Hundreds Waiting.

Office:

58, FENCHURCH ST., E.C.

Secretary:

J. BAILEY WALKER.

A NATIONAL WORK.

Church of England

WAIFS AND STRAYS Society.

Patron: H.M. THE KING.

Patron of the Children's Union: H.M. QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

Nearly **15,000 Children** have been rescued; over 4,000 now being cared for, boarded out and in the 106 Homes, which include 3 Farm, 5 Cripples' and 2 Emigration Homes.

HELP SPECIALLY NEEDED

for the **GENERAL** and **EMIGRATION FUNDS.**

LEGACIES and **DONATIONS** gratefully received by the Secretary,
Rev. E. de M. RUDOLF, Old Town Hall, Kennington, London, S.E.

Bankers: LLOYD'S BANK, LTD.

500 CHILDREN

all FATHERLESS—many of them also MOTHERLESS—are being provided with a HOME, educated, trained and taught to become upright and useful men and women, by the ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL and ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE, at Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill.

This good work, which has been carried on for

Over 150 Years,

greatly needs your generous help. The Charity relies for its support entirely upon voluntary contributions. Donations and Annual Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Secretary, Alexander Grant.

Treasurer—Sir Horace Brooks Marshall, LL.D., J.P., Ald.

Bankers—London Joint Stock Bank, Princes Street, E.C.

Offices—73, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON, E.C.

— THE —

“LIBERATOR” RELIEF FUND.

Patron—H.R.H. PRINCE CHRISTIAN.

£5,000 per year still urgently needed to give relief to Hundreds of Aged, Destitute and Afflicted Victims of the great “Liberator” Crash, who were taught and trained in habits of temperance and thrift by their trusted leaders, only to find themselves suddenly robbed of their life-savings, and driven to face the dreaded workhouse, in spite of all their praiseworthy endeavours to make some provision for their old age. More than 3,000 persons have received assistance, and

THE BITTER CRY FOR HELP is still coming

Cheques and P.O.’s should be made payable to the “Liberator” Relief Fund, and sent to the Secretary,

REV. JOHN HARRISON, 16, FARRINGTON STREET, LONDON, E.C.

Telegrams: "GUIDEBOOK, LONDON."
Telephone: 738 MAYFAIR.

MR. MURRAY'S QUARTERLY LIST

JANUARY, 1910.



50A ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 422. JANUARY, 1910. 6s.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. BYRON AND BONAPARTE. 2. THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES. 3. JACOPONE DA TODI: THE POET OF THE STABAT MATER. 4. ANCIENT JERUSALEM. By the Rev. Dr. BURNEY. 5. THIRTY YEARS OF GOLF. By HORACE G. HUTCHINSON. 6. THE RISE OF THE NATIVE. By Sir H. H. JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. WHAT THE POOR WANT. By STEPHEN REYNOLDS. 8. DEMOCRACY IN SWITZERLAND. By W. S. LILLY. 9. GEORGE MEREDITH. By PERCY LUBBOCK. 10. ORIENTAL ART. By ROGER FRY. 11. BEFORE AND AFTER THE DESCENT FROM ELBA. By the Right Hon. Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Bart. 12. ANGUS, 13. THE APPEAL TO THE NATION. |
|--|---|

SCIENCE PROGRESS

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC WORK AND THOUGHT.)

Edited by H. E. ARMSTRONG, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S., J. BRETLAND FARMER, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., and W. G. FREEMAN, B.Sc., F.L.S.

JANUARY. *Illustrated.* 5s. net.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>SOME FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE FERTILITY IN SOILS. E. J. RUSSELL, D.Sc.</p> <p>"THAT BAD BEVERAGE, BEER." ADRIAN J. BROWN.</p> <p>PALÆOLITHIC RACES, AND THEIR MODERN REPRESENTATIVES. PART VI (Conclusion). W. J. SOLLAS, Sc.D., F.R.S.</p> <p>SCIENCE AND PRACTICE OF PARA RUBBER CULTIVATION. JOHN PARKIN, M.A., F.L.S.</p> <p>PROGRESS OF METEORIC ASTRONOMY. W. P. DENNING, F.R.A.S.</p> | <p>SEX AND SEXUAL CHARACTERS. J. T. CUNNINGHAM, M.A.</p> <p>RECENT HYDROBIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS. PART I—THE GULF STREAMS AND CLIMATE AND CROPS IN NORTHERN EUROPE. JAMES JOHNSTONE, B.Sc.</p> <p>HALLEY'S COMET FROM THE NORMAN POINT OF VIEW. W. B. BRODRICK.</p> <p>THE PHYLOGENY: INTER-RELATIONSHIPS OF THE GREEN ALGÆ. F. E. FRITSCH, Ph.D., D.Sc., F.L.S.</p> |
|--|---|

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY AND THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

The *Classical Quarterly* and *Classical Review* have been acquired by the Classical Association and constituted official organs of that Association and of the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge and will in future be published by Mr. Murray. They will appear as heretofore: the *Quarterly* in the months of January, April, July and October; the *Review* in the remaining eight months.

The Terms of Subscription for one year, post free, are:—

Classical Review	-	-	-	7s. 6d.
Classical Quarterly	-	-	-	12s. 6d.
Both together	-	-	-	18s. 0d.

For other Periodicals see p. 45.

Telegrams: "GUIDEBOOK, LONDON."
Telephone: 738 MAYFAIR.

50^A ALBEMARLE STREET,
W.
January, 1910.

Copies of Mr. Murray's General Catalogue and Lists of Theological and other Works may be obtained through any Bookseller, or will be sent direct, post free, on application.

MR. MURRAY'S QUARTERLY LIST

PART I.—FORTHCOMING WORKS pp. 1—18.

„ II.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS „ 19—48.

ANCIENT AND MODERN IMPERIALISM.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION IN
JANUARY, 1910.

BY THE EARL OF CROMER, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G.

Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

[Just out.]

This is an extension of an address delivered by Lord Cromer, as President of the Classical Association, and is published by permission of the Association. The methods adopted, as also the results obtained in ancient and in modern times are compared. The extent to which assimilation with subject races has been possible in the case of Rome, and in those of England, France and Russia is examined, and the bearing of the language question on the solution of this political problem is discussed.

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW,

AND OTHER ESSAYS.

BY VISCOUNT ESHER, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.

Demy 8vo.

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW—TERRITORIAL DYNAMICS—A PROBLEM IN MILITARY EDUCATION—NATIONAL STRATEGY—THE STUDY OF MODERN HISTORY—QUEEN VICTORIA'S JOURNALS—GENERAL GORDON—LORD ROSEBERY AND MR. PITT—THE IDEALS OF THE MASSES—A LOST LEADER.

This volume contains a selection of essays and lectures written or delivered by Lord Esher during the past twenty years upon subjects mainly of Imperial and National concern.

The lecture on Queen Victoria gives quotations from unpublished journals of the Queen, and the essay on General Gordon some personal reminiscences as well as passages from private letters.

**RENAISSANCE TOMBS IN ROME TO THE
END OF THE XV CENTURY.**

By the Rev. GERALD S. DAVIES,

Master of The Charterhouse.

With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo.

The book is designed to supply a need which has been much felt by students and travellers. Up to the present time no English writer has dealt at all completely with the subject. Indeed there is no work in any language which is devoted solely to it. Much valuable work has been done in Germany and Italy but the results are to be found only by patient search through many volumes of Art Periodicals. In England even this source of information has been found largely wanting. The author has divided his work into two parts. The first portion is devoted to a sketch of the development of Sculpture in Rome from 1100 to 1500. The last part contains a chronological list and an arrangement of Tombs under the heading of Churches, with short descriptions and biographies.

LEAVES FROM AN AFGHAN SCRAP BOOK

By Mr. and Mrs. THORNTON.

With Illustrations and Map. Square Demy 8vo. 8s. net.

The present Amir of Afghanistan and his father, in their strenuous efforts to develop the resources of their country, have been in the habit of employing picked Englishmen to start and superintend their various factories. One of these is a tannery and leather factory, and the gentleman chosen to be at its head was Mr. Ernest T. Thornton, who has just returned to this country, after accomplishing his work in Afghanistan and having received a large gold medal from the Amir in recognition of his services. Mr. and Mrs. Thornton lived for several years at Cabul and have written a book describing their experiences. It is of exceptional value as giving at first hand some of the experiences which their work entailed and much new information about the habits and customs of the people and their rulers. The book is full of anecdotes of the difficulties with which an Englishman has to meet in such circumstances, and of the knowledge and amusement which he may derive from them.

THE PEOPLE'S PROGRESS.

BY FRANK IRESON, B.A.

Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d.

[Just out.]

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME.

THE NATIONAL INCOME—THE PROPORTION OF POOR PEOPLE—THE DIVISION OF INCOME—SOCIALIST ESTIMATES OF INCOME—THE NATION'S SAVINGS—THE "SURPLUS" INCOME OF THE RICH—INCOME NOT AVAILABLE FOR REDISTRIBUTION—EQUAL REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME—GRADED REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME—MIS-STATEMENTS OF INCOME—INACCURACY OF INCOME-TAX STATISTICS—THE PEOPLE'S PROGRESS—INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

THE REWARDS OF CAPITAL.

THE NATURE OF CAPITAL—THE OPERATION OF CAPITAL—THE THREE FACTORS IN WEALTH-PRODUCTION—THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL—THE REWARDS OF CAPITAL—CAPITALISTS AS TRUSTEES FOR THE PUBLIC—FAMILY AFFECTION THE ONLY INCENTIVE TO THRIFT—"UNEARNED" INCOME—INCREMENT CAUSED BY THE COMMUNITY—THE MASTER OF COMMERCE.

A study of the economic progress made during the last sixty years by the people of the United Kingdom. It discusses the distribution of income and the rewards of capital, and is offered as a corrective to the many exaggerations concerning the alleged wealth of the rich, so freely placed by Socialists before the public. Its chief object is to show that the efficient artisan class, who form 65 per cent. of the population, have nothing to gain, and much to lose, by supporting the cause of Socialism.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CORRESPONDENCE.

BEING THE LETTERS OF DEANE SWIFT—PITT—THE LYTTELTONS AND THE GRENVILLES—ROBERT NUGENT AND CHARLES JENKINSON—THE EARLS OF GUILFORD, COVENTRY AND HARDWICKE—SIR EDWARD TURNER—MR. TALBOT OF LACOCK, AND OTHERS, TO SANDERSON MILLER, Esq., OF RADWAY.

Edited by LILIAN DICKINS and MARY STANTON.

With Portraits and other Illustrations. Demy 8vo.

The name of Sanderson Miller is forgotten in these days, but it is well that it should be revived, for he was not only a distinguished Architect and exponent of the pseudo Gothic style in vogue in the days of Horace Walpole, but was also the intimate friend of many of the leading men of his day. The correspondence of this "Friend of Great Men" has special value and interest not only as throwing light on the architectural ideals of his day, but more especially from the new information it gives us respecting his correspondents. Many of the letters are extremely good in themselves, notably those of Deane Swift (cousin and biographer of the great Dean), Lord Dacre, and Sir Edward Turner, whose racy wit irradiates every topic he broaches. The elder Pitt, too, writes to this favoured correspondent with an affectionate gaiety which reveals a fresh aspect of his character, while the Grenville and Lyttelton correspondence gives a vivid picture of the private lives and characters of men hitherto better known in their public capacity. Such subjects as the Broad Bottom Administration, the Oxfordshire Election of 1754, the Loss of Minorca, the Execution of Byng, and the events of the later years of George III are freely discussed. Interesting pictures, many from private collections, of Miller, his friends and the buildings he designed illustrate the book.

THREE BOOKS FOR PRACTICAL GARDENERS.**A HISTORY OF GARDENING IN ENGLAND.**

By the Hon. Mrs. EVELYN CECIL (Alicia Amherst).

THIRD AND REVISED EDITION. *With Illustrations. Medium 8vo. 12s. net.*

Although an infinite number of works on gardening have been written since this book first appeared in 1895, the ground which it covers has been left untouched. It has now been carefully revised and fresh matter of interest added. The author traces the whole history and development of English gardening from the earliest times to the present day. The plants which were introduced, the style of design and the cultural methods in each successive century are described, and the literature of each period surveyed. The information has been drawn from original sources and MS. records, both in public and private archives. This work has held its place as the standard book on the subject, and at the same time it is written with such a genuine love of gardens, and practical knowledge, as well as historical accuracy, that it appeals to lovers of gardening in all its many branches.

ORNAMENTAL BULBOUS AND TUBEROUS PLANTS

FOR THE OPEN AIR, GREENHOUSE AND HOTHOUSE.

WITH DETAILS AS TO DESCRIPTIONS, CULTURE, AND PROPAGATION.

BY JOHN WEATHERS,

Author of "French Market Gardening," "A Practical Guide to Garden Plants," etc.

Medium 8vo.

Information regarding this large and important group of garden plants is so scattered and so difficult for the ordinary gardener (whether professional or amateur) to obtain, that this work is intended to fill the gap that has hitherto existed, or has at least been only very imperfectly filled. The Author of the work possesses the great advantage of being not only a well-known and experienced gardener of many years' standing, but also a capable plant artist. He has an intimate acquaintance with his subject, and for more than 20 years past he has been making sketches from actual specimens of the finest bulbous and tuberous plants to be found in cultivation. For the first time many of these original sketches will appear in this volume, the importance and value of which will be recognized by all interested in the subject.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

TOWN GARDENING.A HANDBOOK OF TREES, SHRUBS AND PLANTS SUITABLE FOR TOWN CULTURE
IN THE OUTDOOR GARDEN, WINDOW GARDEN AND GREENHOUSE.

BY B. C. RAVENSCROFT,

Author of "Tomato Culture for Amateurs," etc.

Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

ZAMBEZIA.

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE VALLEY OF THE ZAMBEZI RIVER, FROM ITS DELTA TO THE RIVER AROANGWA, WITH ITS HISTORY, AGRICULTURE, FLORA, FAUNA, AND ETHNOGRAPHY.

BY R. C. F. MAUGHAM,

H.B.M. Consul to Portuguese East Africa; Author of "Portuguese East Africa."

With Map and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

Readers of Mr. Maugham's "Portuguese East Africa" will recognize in him one whose knowledge of the Portuguese settlements in that region is unsurpassed by that of any living Englishman. As a sportsman and a man of science too, he has exceptionally high qualifications for describing the interesting district of Zambezia.

THE NAVY OF VENICE.

By the Honble. Madame WIEL.

With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo.

The Navy of Venice has hitherto received scant notice at the hands of writers and historians, and no work dealing exclusively with the subject has yet been attempted either in English or Italian. And yet there are many invaluable lessons in regard to the interdependence of "commerce and the flag" to be learned from this record. The present work endeavours to make good this omission, and to show how the welfare of Venice depended almost wholly on her Navy; how it was the mainspring of Venetian prosperity and glory; how its neglect led to the decay and final overthrow of the Republic. The achievements of the Navy—both in war and commerce; its intercourse with the East; its picturesque and historic aspect, are dealt with in turn, from the time when, early in the fifth century, the refugees from the mainland sought a home among the marshes of the Lagoons, down to the fall of the Republic in 1797. The book is fully illustrated from photographs of the galleys and other famous Venetian ships, taken from pictures, monuments, models at the Arsenal, and engravings.

THE PRICE OF BLOOD.

By Captain WLADIMIR SEMENOFF,

Author of "Rasplata," "The Battle of Tsushima."

Translated by LEONARD J. LEWERY and Major GODFREY, R.M.L.I.,

Translator of "From Libau to Tsushima."

Crown 8vo.

Captain Semenoff who is already so well known in this country from his two books "Rasplata" (The Reckoning) and "The Battle of Tsushima," completes in "The Price of Blood" his most interesting and thrilling experiences in the Russo-Japanese War.

In this new book he takes us from the moment when he left his sinking ship at the close of the Battle of Tsushima to the time when he finally returned to Russia, after spending many months as a prisoner of war in Japan, a period which has hitherto been hardly touched upon by other writers.

Not the least interesting part of the book is that which records his impressions and opinions, not always favourable, of the Japanese and their life at home.

THE PREVENTION OF PALUDISM.

By Major RONALD ROSS, F.R.S., C.B.,
Professor of Tropical Medicine at the University of Liverpool.

Containing a short history of Paludism (malaria), a compendium of facts about the disease, its distribution, discussions on various points, details, descriptions and comparisons of the various antipaludic measures, a discussion of the cost, the antipaludic strategy and state policy, accounts of work done in various parts of the world and its results, and condensed accounts of the parasites, the mosquitoes, and the necessary technique.

ALSO BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

PHILOSOPHIES.

A series of verses written in India between 1881 and 1889, mostly in connection with the author's researches on Paludism.

**BOYISH REMINISCENCES OF
H.M. THE KING'S VISIT TO CANADA IN 1861**

By Lieut. THOMAS BUNBURY GOUGH, R.N.,
Then a Midshipman on H.M.S. "Hero."

With Illustrations. Square Demy 8vo.

Lieutenant Thomas Bunbury Gough's volume has in its pages the briny freshness of the ocean. From them the boy Prince emerges an endearing personality, foreshadowing in his bonhomie, his manliness, his royal tact, the popular sovereign that so happily reigns over the British Empire of to-day. The book should delight every loyal subject, for it shows how Edward, Prince of Wales, carried out the first national responsibility entrusted to him. It is an invaluable link between the old Navy and the new, when a Naval officer was before all a seaman, and when steam was regarded as a secondary power only to be used on occasions. It has humour and pathos. To the Royal Navy and the Mercantile Marine alike it is brimful of interest. Canadians have reason to be proud of the impression it gives of them.

**HEALTH, PROGRESS AND ADMINISTRATION
IN THE WEST INDIES.**

By Sir RUBERT BOYCE, F.R.S.,
Author of "Mosquito or Man?"

Medium 8vo.

A book intended for medical men and officials, being an account of the rise, progress and decline of Yellow Fever in the West Indies, and of the sanitary reforms, educational and administrative methods employed to overcome and banish disease in some of the West Indian Islands, with special reference to the modern campaign against insect pests. The work is illustrated with numerous photographs made in Barbados, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and British Guiana.

OUR HOME ARMY IN 1909 AND 1913.

COMPILED FROM STATISTICS FURNISHED TO PARLIAMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

By the **DUKE OF BEDFORD, K.G.**

Paper Covers. 1d.

In this important pamphlet by a well-known expert, an alarming condition of military unreadiness is revealed. The Duke of Bedford shows that the full effects of the work done by the late Radical Government in reducing the numbers and reserve-creating power of the Regular Army will not be felt till 1913. He also proves that in officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, and also in their training, the Home Defence Army is deficient, and that the Expeditionary Force is not ready for an expedition. The Army is weakened, and the Territorial Force, for military purposes, exists only on paper.

EVENTS OF THE INDIAN MUTINY AT FEROZEPORE AND THROUGHOUT THE SIEGE OF DELHI.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CAPTAIN GRIFFITHS.

Edited by Captain **HENRY JOHN YONGE,**
Formerly of the 61st Regiment.

With Illustrations. Demy 8vo.

In spite of the many books which have appeared concerning the Indian Mutiny, there is always something fresh to tell of that absorbing chapter of English History. The fact is that it was so full of personal incidents and adventures, that everyone who took part in the struggle has some new light to throw upon it. There are many such incidents recorded in this volume, including an account of the action of our troops inside Delhi after the capture of the city.

RECOLLECTIONS OF ISABELLA FYVIE MAYO

("EDWARD GARRETT").

Demy 8vo.

Beginning with family traditions of old-fashioned Scottish life the book passes on to memories of early Victorian London, and of its homes, schools and churches. It narrates the author's own struggles in fields then opening to women. It tells the story of her literary adventures and gives glimpses of many interesting people. It deals with subjects as diverse as criminology, the deadlock in domestic service, and the mysteries of psychic phenomena. The book is full of incident and anecdote.

IN THE TORRID SUDAN.

BY **H. LINCOLN TANGYE, F.R.G.S.,**

Author of "In New South Africa."

With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

This book, while dealing with sport and travel in the Sudan, also describes its geography and interesting history, its internal conditions, administration and development. Incidents of an extended shooting trip are related and a particular feature is the description of a journey into a little known part of the country where the human being is exhibited in his primitive state. There are sixty illustrations from photographs, in most instances taken by the author.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

BY D. C. LATHBURY.

With Portraits. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo.

The religious aspect of Mr. Gladstone's life was deliberately omitted from Lord Morley's great biography, as it was impossible to deal with all the phases of so many-sided a man within the limits of one work. Mr. D. C. Lathbury has been engaged for some years on the preparation of this complementary biography, which deals in full with Mr. Gladstone's correspondence with Mr. Hope-Scott, Cardinals Newman and Manning, Dr. Dollinger, John Bright, Lords Acton, Lytton and Lyttelton, the members of his family and many others. These volumes will be published in the Spring by Mr. Murray.

THE MOND COLLECTION.

A CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PICTURES OF THE ITALIAN AND OTHER SCHOOLS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LATE DR. LUDWIG MOND, F.R.S.

BY J. P. RICHTER, Ph.D.

With 41 Large and 36 Smaller Photogravures and other reproductions of the Pictures described. 2 Vols. 4to, and an Atlas of Plates.

The Mond Collection consists of authentic and important works by Raphael, Titian, Botticelli, Luini, Bellini, etc. These pictures, though frequently referred to in the literature devoted to the study of Renaissance Art, have not been generally accessible. They are here reproduced in photogravures by Ad. Braun & Cie of Paris, and are accompanied by Essays by Dr. J. P. Richter, in which their intrinsic qualities are described together with the place they take in the evolution of Italian Art, their symbolism and the history of their vicissitudes.

The book also contains certain biographical details of the Artists which are not to be found in other works of this kind. A special value and interest attach to this work, as it describes the pictures which form Dr. Mond's munificent bequest to the nation.

A THOROUGHLY REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION OF
FERGUSON'S AUTHORITATIVE WORK.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN AND EASTERN ARCHITECTURE.

By the late JAMES FERGUSSON, C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.,
Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects; Member of the Society of Dilettanti, etc., etc.

REVISED AND EDITED, WITH ADDITIONS, AND MANY NEW ILLUSTRATIONS.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE. BY JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.,
Late Director of the Archaeological Survey of India; Hon. Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects; Hon. Member of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, of the American Oriental Society, etc., etc.

EASTERN ARCHITECTURE. BY R. PHENÉ SPIERS, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.,
Honorary Member of the American Institute of Architects; Correspondent of the Institute of France.

With Maps and numerous Illustrations. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo.

THE LIFE OF SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL.

BASED ON HIS PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE AND DIARIES
AND OTHER HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

BY J. B. ATKINS.

With Portraits. . Demy 8vo.

"Billy Russell's" name is a familiar household word. He is recognized as the pioneer of and the most distinguished among war correspondents; and, from the time of the Danish War in 1850, of the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny down to the Egyptian campaign of 1882, there was no campaign of consequence of which he was not an eye-witness. His humour and descriptive power are sufficient alone to ensure the interest of his biography.

INDIAN TEXTS SERIES.

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT

ENTITLED

ZAFAR UL-WÁLÍH BI MUZAFFAR WA ÂLIH.

BY 'ABDALLAH MUHAMMAD BIN 'OMAR AL-MAKKI,
AL-ÂŞAFÍ, ULUGHKHÁNÍ.

Edited from the unique and Autograph Copy in the Library of the Calcutta
Madrasah by E. DENISON ROSS, Ph.D.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF ITS CAUSES, PROGRESS AND RESULTS.

BY JOHN FORMBY.

With numerous Maps. Demy 8vo.

The American "Secession War" was one of the longest and most important of the last century. Certain episodes in it have been described, notably the brilliant career of Stonewall Jackson, in his Life by Colonel Henderson, but in this country at any rate, there is no work giving a compendious and scientific account of the whole war.

Owing to the very large number of more or less independent operations which were being carried on over a very wide area, it is a very difficult task to give a connected history of the whole and to show the bearing of distant events on each other and on the general progress of the war.

This has now been attempted by Mr. Formby. It is believed that few, if any, histories contain so many plans of battles as does this work. The maps have been drawn to two scales, and have been most carefully tested and corrected, as it is found that no existing series of maps of these campaigns is accurate.

As the American Civil War is one of the subjects set for military examinations in 1910, this work should prove both valuable and opportune.

SUCCESS IN MUSIC AND HOW IT IS WON.**BY HENRY T. FINCK,**

Author of "Wagner and his Works," "Songs and Song Writers."

With a Chapter on Tempo Rubato by IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI.*Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*

This book is a sort of symposium in which the world's greatest singers, pianists, violinists and teachers tell the secrets of their success.

Every year tens of thousands of young women and men ask themselves: "Shall I choose music as a profession? Will it enable me to make a living—to become rich, perhaps, and famous? Will it ensure me as much happiness as I would find in some other career?"

After laying bare the secret of the success of the world's greatest singers, pianists and teachers (separate sections being devoted to each of these classes), the author proceeds to answer a number of practical questions, among them: "How much does a musical education cost?" "Shall I study at home or abroad?" "How can I make a wise choice of teachers?" "When should a musical education begin?" "What about managers?" "What must I do to get a public hearing?" "What are a woman's chances in music?" "Why did Dr. Wüllner have such an immediate and sensational success?" In brief, there is hardly a practical question of interest to students of music that is not answered in these pages; and apart from the biographic sketches there are chapters like "Does music pay?" and "Are great artists happy?" which the general reader, too, will find of absorbing interest.

.....

NEW SIX-SHILLING NOVELS.**TOWER OF IVORY.****BY GERTRUDE ATHERTON,**

Author of "Rezanov," "Ancestors," "The Gorgeous Isle," &c.

A TALE OF TWO WOMEN.**BY LADY NAPIER OF MAGDALA,**

Author of "Fiona," "A Stormy Morning."

This novel deals with the doings of two handsome young women, with their experiences, heart searchings, and so on, showing how the different motives, principles and passions that ruled their lives worked out. Their roles are played in Society, Scotland and foreign parts.

THE THIEF OF VIRTUE.**BY EDEN PHILLPOTTS,**

Author of "The Haven," "The Fun of the Fair," etc.

NEW SIX-SHILLING NOVELS—continued.

OUTLAND.

BY GORDON STAIRS.

This is the love story of a Professor of Sociology and a young woman of literary temperament, told by the young woman; beginning at the point where she has just refused an offer of marriage made by the Professor on the basis of its reasonableness. This occurs at a seaside resort, where a few days later, walking in the forest they are taken captive by a tribe of Outliers, escaped from a more complicated civilization, and living next the earth with great beauty and simpleness. These Outliers are at the moment at odds with another tribe of Far-Folk over a King's Treasure, which the Outliers have buried as the best means of getting rid of the worries its possession entails. The Professor becomes interested in the social condition of the Outliers and in a beautiful young girl connected with the keeping of the treasure, who succeeds in teaching him that reasonableness is not primarily the basis of sex attraction.

Through the Far-Folk and the Professor's desire to domesticate the Outliers, there ensues a series of exciting adventures about the treasure, but in the end the two captives manage to get back to civilization convinced that the simplification of life is to be effected not by reasonableness or riches, but by the passions that earlier they denied. The whole story moves against a tapestry-like background of waving boughs and moving waters, and without ever departing from its form of story, conveys many subtle touches of allegory.

THE LANTERN OF LUCK.

BY ROBERT AITKEN,

Author of "Beyond the Skyline."

PRAIRIE, SNOW AND SEA.

Short Stories by LAWRENCE MOTT,

Author of "Jules of the Great Heart," "To the Credit of the Sea," etc.

In this new collection of tales the author vividly portrays more of the rough life on the great prairies of North-Western Canada, taking as his characters the Royal North-West mounted police, the squatters, "homesteaders" and ranchmen. The lives of these men are of absorbing interest, fraught with continual danger and hardships. And the gamut of human emotions, drawn from their rugged natures, form life-like studies of a class of people whose existence is one of continual striving and toil. Of the snow the author gives sketches among the foothills, mountains and forests of his old hunting country the Hudson Bay regions, and in the sea stories he depicts the famed American Gloucestermen or bankers, and the inhabitants of the desolate Labrador Coast with realistic power, setting them picturesquely in scenes of tempest, calm and fog.

.....

MR. MURRAY'S SERIES OF SHORT NOVELS.

Each 2s. 6d. net.

THE WILL AND THE WAY.

BY BERNARD CAPES, Author of "A Jay of Italy," etc.

A CHEAPER EDITION.

A GREAT CONSPIRACY.

AN ABRIDGED EDITION OF

SIDELIGHTS ON THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT.**BY SIR ROBERT ANDERSON, K.C.B., LL.D.,**Formerly Assistant Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis and Head of the
Criminal Investigation Department*In Paper Covers.**6d. net.**[Just out.*

THE AUTHORIZED NEW EDITION OF

**CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE'S HISTORY
OF PAINTING.**A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY, UMBRIA, FLORENCE AND SIENA,
FROM THE 2ND TO THE 16TH CENTURY.**BY J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE.**With Editorial Notes by **LANGTON DOUGLAS,**

Author of "Fra Angelico," "A History of Siena," &c.

*Six Volumes. With upwards of 200 Illustrations. Square Demy 8vo.
21s. net each Vol.***VOL. I—EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.****VOL. II—GIOTTO AND THE GIOTTESQUES.****VOL. III—THE SIENESE, UMBRIAN AND NORTH ITALIAN SCHOOLS.****VOL. IV—FLORENTINE MASTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.** [*In the press.*]**VOL. V—UMBRIAN MASTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES****VOL. VI—SIENESE AND FLORENTINE MASTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.**

This Edition of "Crowe and Cavalcaselle" contains the latest additions and emendations of the Authors, who left behind them at their deaths a carefully revised manuscript and many new Notes. The work is being edited by Mr. Langton Douglas, one of the first authorities on Italian Art. Not only do his Notes contain the results of his own researches, but also the opinions and the discoveries of the most competent critics of all the leading schools of art criticism.

THE ALBEMARLE SHILLING LIBRARY.*Crown 8vo. Cloth, 1s. net each.***SELF-HELP.** With Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance. By **SAMUEL SMILES.** With Portrait.**SINAI AND PALESTINE** in connection with their History.
By the late **DEAN STANLEY.** With Maps.**DEEDS OF NAVAL DARING; or, Anecdotes of the British Navy.** By **EDWARD GIFFARD.****THE LIFE OF DAVID LIVINGSTONE,** By **WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE.** With Portrait.

PROBLEMS IN ANIMAL METABOLISM.

BY J. B. LEATHES,

Lecturer on Physiology in the Medical School of St. Thomas's Hospital.

SECOND EDITION. *Demy 8vo.*

POPULAR EDITIONS OF

MR. MURRAY'S STANDARD WORKS.

2s. 6d. net each.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
SIR HARRY SMITH. Edited by G. C. MOORE SMITH. With Map
and Portrait.

THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF MODERN LEGISLATION.

BY W. JETHRO BROWN, LL.D. (Camb.), Litt.D. (Dubl.),

Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law; Author of "The Austinian Theory of Law."

THE MEANING OF LIBERTY—LIBERTY AS GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE—
LIBERTY AS ABSENCE OF RESTRAINT—LIBERTY AS THE CONDITION OF COM-
PLETEST SELF-REALIZATION. ILLUSTRATIONS FROM LIFE AND THOUGHT IN
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—HUMANITARIANISM—SOCIAL EQUALITY—
RELIGIOUS THOUGHT—THE MODERN IDEAL OF WOMANHOOD—UNITY OF
MOVEMENT THUS EVIDENCED. FUNDAMENTAL LEGISLATIVE PRINCIPLES—
THE WORTH OF MAN. THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL—THE MESSAGE OF
ANARCHY—LEGISLATIVE DESPOTISM—LIBERTY AND REGULATION—THE
APPLICATION OF LEGISLATIVE PRINCIPLES IN CURRENT POLITICS—THE
MONOPOLY OF CAREERS—UNEMPLOYMENT—THE FAIR (OR LIVING, OR
MINIMUM) WAGE.

DISEASES OF THE SKIN.

BY E. GAUCHER,

Professor of Cutaneous Diseases at the Faculty of Medicine, and
Physician to the St. Louis Hospital, Paris.

Translated and Edited by C. F. MARSHALL, M.Sc., M.D., F.R.C.S.

*With 180 Illustrations from Photographs in the Author's private collection,
and from Models in the St. Louis Hospital Museum. Demy 8vo.*

This is a concise and practical manual of Cutaneous diseases, presenting the
teaching of the Paris School of Dermatology and the most modern forms of treatment,
including recent improvements in the technique of treatment by Radium, and the
results obtained thereby.

A CHEAP EDITION.

THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF TAXATION.

BY G. ARMITAGE-SMITH, M.A., D.Litt.,
Principal of the Birkbeck College.

THIRD EDITION. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net. [Just ready.

In view of the great amount of attention at present being paid to the problems of taxation, it has been thought advisable to issue a new and cheaper edition of Dr. Armitage-Smith's standard work. It presents in a concise and simple form an account of the British system of taxation, and the principles on which it is based, together with some of the leading historical facts in its evolution. The book will be found invaluable by all serious students of this subject.

THE PLACE OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE.

BEING AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE
OF EDINBURGH

BY LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON

ON OCTOBER 19, 1909.

In Paper Covers. 1s. net. [Just out.

MURRAY'S ILLUSTRATED BIBLE DICTIONARY.

COMBINING MODERN RESEARCH WITH ANCIENT FAITH.

WRITTEN BY LEADING SCHOLARS OF TO-DAY, AND INCLUDING THE RESULTS
OF MODERN RESEARCH.

Edited by the Rev. Wm. C. PIERCY, M.A.

With numerous Illustrations and Maps. 21s.

From several communications which have reached him, Mr. Murray learns that there is a general desire for the issue of this work on the instalment system.

Although this system is one which does not in general commend itself to him, he cannot but feel that the present case is an exceptional one, and that only good can arise from bringing this magnificent work of reference, which every clergyman and theological student should possess, within the easy reach of all.

It has therefore been arranged that for the present this Dictionary can be purchased for a sum of 5s., sent with the order, on receipt of which the work will at once be despatched, carriage paid, and six subsequent monthly instalments of 2s. 6d. per month.

If you should be unable to examine a copy at your Bookseller's, Mr. Murray will be glad to send you one on approval, carriage paid, on receiving your request, addressed to 50a, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.

This copy may be retained if you decide to purchase the book, but the order and payments must be made through a bookseller. Otherwise the copy should be returned to Mr. Murray, carriage paid, within a week.

OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.

IN FIVE PERIODS.

By the Rev. J. M. HARDWICH, M.A.,
Late Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Bell University Scholar;

And the Rev. H. COSTLEY-WHITE, M.A.,
Late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford;

ASSISTANT MASTERS AT RUGBY SCHOOL.

Crown 8vo. 2s. each Volume.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Vol. I—FROM THE CREATION TO THE CROSSING OF THE RED SEA. | } <i>Already published.</i> |
| Vol. II—FROM THE CROSSING OF THE RED SEA TO RUTH. | |
| Vol. III—FROM THE BIRTH OF SAMUEL TO THE DEATH OF DAVID. | |
| Vol. IV—FROM THE ACCESSION OF SOLOMON TO THE FALL OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOM. | |
| Vol. V—FROM HEZEKIAH TO THE END OF THE CANON. [<i>Already published.</i>] | |

Each volume is intended to provide material for one term's work. The following are some of the chief features of the series :—

- i—The Narrative is given for the most part in the words of the Authorized Version.
- ii—Brief Historical explanations and general commentary are inserted in their proper places.
- iii—The chronological order of events has been followed.
- iv—Each period is illustrated by reference to contemporary literature (e.g. Prophets and Psalms) and monuments.
- v—Foot-notes are added, but only where difficulties of thought or language seem to demand explanation.

A SERIES OF SIMPLIFIED LATIN TEXTS.

CLARI ROMANI.

- (1) **AGRICOLA.** By W. L. PAINE, M.A., Oundle School. [*Ready.*]
- (2) **CAMILLUS.** By C. H. BROADBENT, B.A., Bradford Grammar School.
- (3) **ÆMILIUS PAULUS.** By F. R. DALE, B.A., Leeds Grammar School
- (4) **METELLUS AND MARIUS (Jugurthine War).** By A. J. SCHOOLING, B.A., Liverpool Institute. [*Ready.*]
- (5) **JULIUS CÆSAR.** By H. J. DAKERS, M.A., Manchester Grammar School.

Others in preparation.

This series aims at supplying interesting stories which can be easily read, and consequently all difficult passages have been simplified. A full vocabulary is included, together with such historical appendixes as are necessary for the proper understanding of the text.

That the claims of good scholarship may not be neglected, a series of exercises on points of grammar, syntax, etc., is appended. This portion of the book is interleaved, so that the pupil may make his own record of progress and keep it under the same cover as the text which he reads.

THREE NEW VOLUMES IN THE
WISDOM OF THE EAST SERIES.

THE BURDEN OF ISIS. Being the Laments of Isis and Nephthys.
Translated from the Egyptian with an Introduction by JAMES TEACKLE
DENNIS. 1s. net.

THE MASTER SINGERS OF JAPAN. By MISS CLARA A. WALSH.
2s. net.

THE PATH OF LIGHT. Translated for the first time into English from
the Bodhi-Charyāvātara of Śānti-Deva. A Manual of Mahā-Yāna Buddhism.
By L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D. 2s. net. [Just out.]

.....

LECTURES SCOLAIRES ÉLÉMENTAIRES.

Edited by W. MANSFIELD POOLE, M.A.,
Head of the Modern Language Department, Royal Naval College, Osborne.

And E. L. LASSIMONNE,
Officier de l'Instruction Publique, Senior Master, Royal Naval College, Osborne.

A series of elementary reading books by Poole and Lassimonne is in the course of preparation. The books will consist of about 30 pages of a simple text, with foot-notes in French, followed by a similar number of pages of questions, each page of questions corresponding to a page of the text.

The editors hope to introduce some new and interesting stories hitherto unpublished in England and specially written for the young by the best French authors. Where necessary, slight modifications of the text have been made, partly to remove unnecessary difficulties and partly to reduce the story to the requisite number of pages.

The first volume is now ready.

LA SOURIS BLANCHE. By HÉGÉSIPPE MOREAU. 1s.

Others in preparation.

.....

TEXTES ET QUESTIONS.

BY W. MANSFIELD POOLE, M.A., and E. L. LASSIMONNE.

CLASSES ÉLÉMENTAIRES. 1s. 6d. [Already published.]

CLASSES AVANCÉES. 2s. 6d. [Just out.]

MR. MURRAY'S QUARTERLY LIST

PART II RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BIOGRAPHY - - - - -	19	MEDICAL - - - - -	39
HISTORY - - - - -	23	SCIENCE - - - - -	40
PHILOSOPHY - - - - -	26	EDUCATIONAL - - - - -	42
POLITICS - - - - -	26	GARDENING AND NATURE - - - - -	42
MILITARY AND NAVAL - - - - -	27	THEOLOGY - - - - -	43
TRAVEL, SPORT AND ADVENTURE - - - - -	30	PERIODICALS - - - - -	45
ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY - - - - -	31	ROMANCE OF THE EAST SERIES - - - - -	46
POETRY - - - - -	33	WISDOM OF THE EAST SERIES - - - - -	46
NOVELS AND BELLES LETTRES - - - - -	33	MR. MURRAY'S STANDARD WORKS - - - - -	48
LAW - - - - -	39		

Biography.

THE LIFE OF MRS. NORTON. By Miss Jane Gray Perkins. With Portraits. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

"We cannot praise too highly the spirit in which this book has been written . . . the first really adequate and impartial biography of a once famous figure in English politics and society."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

"Miss Perkins has done her work sympathetically, conscientiously, and with no little skill; she has produced what is unquestionably one of the most valuable and interesting of recent literary biographies."—*Bookman*.

Biography—continued.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PRISCILLA, COUNTESS OF WESTMORLAND. Edited by her Daughter, Lady Rose Weigall. With Portraits. Demy 8vo. 14s. net.

"This is no volume of personal and malevolent tittle-tattle, but something much better, a volume of verdicts passed by a very able and charming woman and her distinguished friends, chiefly upon affairs of State, of which they knew far more than the general public."—*Evening Standard*.

THE LIFE OF SIR WILLIAM BROADBENT, Bart., K.C.V.O., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S. Edited by his Daughter, Miss Broadbent. With Portraits. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"These letters reveal a mind keenly interested in passing events, shrewdly critical of public personages, and full of human sympathy. To all who enjoyed his friendship or acquaintance they will recall a personality of singular attraction. . . . Sir William Broadbent's character is pregnant with example, and the story of his career may be studied with advantage by all who may be striving to follow in the footsteps of a great physician, and will be read with pleasure by all who knew the man."—*British Medical Journal*.

THE REMINISCENCES OF CARL SCHURZ. With Illustrations. 3 Vols. Demy 8vo. 36s. net.

"Carl Schurz's memoirs will surely be widely read, because they form a sort of book that everybody is bound to enjoy and recommend. For, besides the fact that he met almost all the popular heroes—German, American, English—of his day, he himself combined to an unusual degree the qualities of man of war and man of peace, a love of romantic adventure and a love of philosophical and political questions, an exuberant, youthful enthusiasm and an experienced prudence, which brought him safely and honourably through a life of the wildest adventure and greatest responsibility. Few, indeed, are the books published in the course of the year that possess such interest and charm. Nobody should miss these Reminiscences."—*Evening Standard*.

BYRON: THE LAST PHASE. By Richard Edgcumbe. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"There can be no doubt, however, that the letter was intended for Mary Chaworth, and no doubt either that Mr. Edgcumbe in this extraordinarily interesting book has solved the mystery which has hitherto baffled all Byron's advocates, and by solving it has disposed of for ever the monstrous scandal which Lady Byron, Lord Lovelace, and Mrs. Beecher Stowe were so anxious to believe."—*Truth*.

MR. CLEMENT K. SHORTER, in his Review in the *Daily Chronicle*, says: "A book of exceptional importance and of striking merit . . . must in the future take a place of pronounced importance for students of Byron's career . . . a revelation of profound literary value."

Biography—continued.

A LIFE OF LADY HESTER STANHOPE.

By Mrs. Charles Roundell. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

"The heroine of this book must always take a prominent place among historical women, for her life and her personality were extremely remarkable . . . a very delightful and interesting work. Lady Hester is certainly worth reading about. Her life is a wonderful romance, one which as fiction would appear impossible, too whimsically imagined."—*Daily Telegraph*.

THE RISE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON. By the Rev.

F. A. Simpson, M.A., formerly Exhibitioner of Queen's College, Oxford. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

"As a revelation of the environment and the outstanding features of the career of Louis Napoleon the volume is unique."—*Western Daily Press*.

"Mr. Simpson has brought to bear upon his labour a mind singularly free from prejudice, and a power and facility of expression rarely found, unfortunately, nowadays in books that claim to be historical."—*Gentlewoman*.

THE SKENE PAPERS: Memories of Sir Walter Scott.

By James Skene. Edited by Basil Thomson. With Portrait. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

MEMOIR OF COLONEL THE RIGHT HON.

WILLIAM KENYON-SLANEY, M.P. Edited by Walter Durnford. Large Crown 8vo. With Illustrations. 3s. 6d. net.

"Brings out in a strong light the fine character of the man and the charming relations which permeated his whole domestic life. . . . A touching tribute to one who led a useful, noble and blameless life such as endeared him to all who became acquainted with him."—*Broad Arrow*.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONG LIFE, 1786—

1822. By Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse). With additional Extracts from his Private Diaries. Edited by his Daughter, Lady Dorchester. With a Preface by the Earl of Rosebery, K.G. 2 Vols. With Portraits. Demy 8vo. 24s. net

THE LETTERS OF QUEEN VICTORIA. A

Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence, 1837–1861. Published by authority of His Majesty The King. Edited by Arthur Christopher Benson, M.A., C.V.O. and Viscount Esher, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. With 40 Photogravures. Medium 8vo. Three Volumes. £3 3s. net. Also Cheap Edition with 16 Portraits. Crown 8vo. Three Volumes. 6s. net.

Biography—continued.

THE BANCROFTS. Recollections of Sixty Years. By Sir Squire and Lady Bancroft. With Portraits and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

"Not only an invaluable document for the student of Stage-history, but an amusing and charming companion for a leisure hour or two . . . a book that gives, once and for all, the story of a very remarkable period in the history of the English Stage."—*The Times*.

NOTES FROM A PAINTER'S LIFE. Including the Founding of Two Galleries. By C. E. Hallé. With Illustrations. Square Demy 8vo. 6s. net.

"Mr. Hallé writes with complete naturalness and good taste, as well as with a considerable dash of humour, and having at his disposal so much varied and attractive material, it is not to be wondered at that his pages are easy and pleasant to read."—*Morning Post*.

GIUSEPPE BARETTI. With an Account of his Literary Friendships and Feuds in Italy and in England in the Days of Dr. Johnson. By Lacy Collison-Morley. With an Introduction by the late F. Marion Crawford. With Photogravure Portrait. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"Mr. Collison-Morley's book presents a striking picture of the literary world of Baretti's time in Italy and England. . . . He brings out clearly the essential fact that it was not Johnson's friendship so much as Baretti's abilities and resolute industry that gained the clever Italian the friendly regard of Johnson's circle."—

Westminster Gazette.

SIX OXFORD THINKERS: Gibbon, Newman, Froude, Church, Morley, Pater. By Algernon Cecil, M.A. (Oxon), of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

"Mr. Cecil's style is vigorous and thoroughly alive. He has a real knowledge of his subject and a real interest in it. . . . No one will fail to feel the attraction of his obvious honesty and earnestness, or to enjoy the atmosphere of good literature which pervades his book."—*The Times*.

TWO ADMIRALS: Sir Fairfax Moresby, G.C.B. (1786—1877), and his Son, John Moresby. A Record of Life and Service in the British Navy for a Hundred Years. By Admiral John Moresby. With Portraits and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 14s. net.

"Apart from the story of two lives of splendid energy and devotion, the book is invaluable as a picture of the changing conditions of the Navy within the past century. The book is almost inexhaustible in its entertainment, as well as in its inspiration in the example of two lives well spent in the service of their country."—

Observer.

THE LIFE OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN ARDAGH. By his Wife, Susan, Countess of Malmesbury (Lady Ardagh). With Portraits and Illustrations from Drawings by Sir John Ardagh. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

Biography—continued.

THE LIFE OF MAJOR-GEN. SIR CHARLES

W. WILSON, Royal Engineers. By Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E., M.A. With Maps and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

GEORGE CANNING AND HIS FRIENDS.

Containing hitherto unpublished Letters, *Jeux d'Esprit*, etc. Edited by Captain J. Bagot. Portraits. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo. 30s. net.

THE LIFE OF ADMIRAL SIR LEOPOLD

MCCLINTOCK. By an old Messmate, Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S. With an Introductory Note by the Most Rev. William Alexander, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh. With Maps and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

FROM PLOUGHSHARE

TO PARLIAMENT. A Short Memoir of the Potters of Tadcaster. By Georgina Meinertzhagen. With Portraits and other Illustrations. Large Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

REMINISCENCES OF A

STONEMASON. By A Working Man. Large Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

NELSON'S HARDY. His Life,

Letters and Friends. By A. M. Broadley and the Rev. R. G. Bartelot. Many Illustrations and Portraits. 10s. 6d. net.

LIFE OF LORD NORTON

(Right Honble. Sir Charles Adderley, K.C.M.G.), 1814—1905, Statesman and Philanthropist. By William S. Child-Pemberton, Author of "Memoirs of Baroness de Bode." With Portraits and other Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

A MARINER OF ENG-

LAND. An Account of the Career of William Richardson from Cabin-Boy in the Merchant Service to Warrant Officer in the Royal Navy (1780 to 1817) told in his own words. Edited by Colonel Spencer Childers, R.E., C.B. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

History.

THE MEDICI. By Colonel G. F. Young, C.B. With numerous Illustrations. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo. 36s. net.

Colonel Young's history of the Medici Family contains much valuable information hitherto entirely wanting, regarding most of the artistic possessions to be seen in these days in Florence, and the deeds of the later Medici in the domain of Art, Literature, and Science. This portion of the book (Part II) becomes on that account of, perhaps, even greater importance and interest than the history of the elder branch as detailed in the earlier chapters. The book has thus a double value, the second part of which has not yet been noticed by any reviewer. One or two of the critics have said that it will become the standard work on the history of the Medici, but none has yet noticed that for the above reason, it is even more likely to become the standard work for conveying information in regard to the Art possessions of Florence. For it is in this direction that it supplies the largest amount of fresh information,

History—continued.

THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE. A Handbook to the History of Greater Britain. By **A. W. Jose.** New and Revised Edition. With Maps. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

THE CITY OF JERUSALEM. By Colonel **C. R. Conder, LL.D.,** Author of "The Rise of Man." With Maps, Diagrams and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

"... is a work at once valuable and interesting. In these days of many travellers Jerusalem naturally attracts a large number of visitors, and such will find Colonel Conder's book—a work at once concise and comprehensive—a fascinating introduction to a stay in the Holy City. Those who are unable to contemplate a journey to Palestine will yet feel that they know the City of Jerusalem when they have read this fine record."—*Daily Telegraph*.

THE RISE OF MAN. By Colonel **C. R. Conder, LL.D., M.R.A.S.,** Author of "Tent Work in Palestine," "The Hittites, their Language," etc., etc. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. Its Place in National History. By **J. Howard Masterman, M.A.,** Professor of History in the University of Birmingham. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards, 1s. 6d.

THE LATINS IN THE LEVANT. A History of Frankish Greece (1204—1566). By **William Miller.** With Maps. Medium 8vo. 21s. net.

"No scholar can fail to appreciate the great value of Mr. Miller's work as a piece of sound research. . . . He presents his narrative, intricate as his subject is, with remarkable lucidity and vividness."—*Manchester Guardian*.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. An English Translation with Introduction, Notes and Maps. By **George G. Ramsay, M.A. (Oxon), Litt.D., LL.D.** In 2 Vols. Demy 8vo. Vol. I, Books I—VI; Vol. II, Books XI—XVI. Price 15s. net each Volume.

"The translation leaves nothing to be desired. . . . In accuracy it is all that could be expected from the eminent scholarship of the translator reinforced as it has been by untiring industry. The lucidity of its style stands, of course, in singular contrast to the original."—*Spectator*.

History—continued.

AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORY OF ENGLAND. From the Earliest Times to the Year 1815. By C. R. L. Fletcher, M.A., Formerly Fellow of All Souls and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. With Maps.

VOL. I—FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES. 5s.

VOL. II—FROM HENRY VII TO THE RESTORATION. 5s.

VOL. III—FROM CHARLES II TO THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT WAR. 5s.

VOL. IV—THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR. 5s.

"C. R. L. Fletcher has attained to the position of ideal historian for school boys and girls."—*Preparatory Schools Review*.

"The method may be regarded as approximating to the ideal."—*Athenæum*.

"At last school history becomes a living thing."—*Practical Teacher*.

"We doubt whether a better historical book than Mr. Fletcher's has appeared in this country any time within the past fifty years."—*Daily Telegraph*.

INDIAN TEXTS SERIES—I.

EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

STORIA DO MOGOR; or, Mogul India (1653—1708). By Niccolao Manucci, Venetian. Translated, with Notes and Introduction, by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service; Member of Council, Royal Asiatic Society. With 61 Illustrations and a Map. Medium 8vo. 4 Vols. 12s. net each.

VOLUMES OF THE INDIAN RECORDS SERIES.

PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

BENGAL IN 1756-57. Selection of Public and Private Papers dealing with the Affairs of the British in Bengal during the Reign of Siraj-Uddaula. Edited, with Notes and an Historical Introduction, by S. C. Hill. 3 Vols. Demy 8vo. 12s. net each Vol.

OLD FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL. A Selection of Official Documents dealing with its History. Edited by C. R. Wilson, M.A., D.Litt., late in Charge of the Records of the Government of India. 2 Vols. Medium 8vo. 12s. net each Vol.

MOLMENTI'S HISTORY OF VENICE. Translated by Horatio F. Brown. 3 Parts (2 Vols. to each Part). Demy 8vo. 21s. net each Part.

PART I—Venice in the Middle Ages. PART II—Venice in the Golden Age. PART III—The Decadence of Venice.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF VENICE. By Horatio F. Brown, Author of "Life on the Lagoons." Demy 8vo. 2 Vols. 18s. net.

Philosophy.

LUCRETIUS: Epicurean and Poet. By John Masson, LL.D.
Completing Volume. Demy 8vo. 6s. net.

This is the supplementary volume promised by Dr. Masson last year. It deals with such subjects as the Borgian life of Lucretius, the relation of Lucretius's atom to the Daltonian atom and to the electron, the origin of Leucippus's atomic theory from earlier speculations, the central Epicurean doctrine of atomic declination, criticising the presentment of it by Guyau and Giussani, the evolution of the Epicurean conception of pleasure from that of the Cyrenaic school; also with the revival of Epicureanism by Gassendi, and other questions.

Politics.

THE NAVY LEAGUE ANNUAL, 1909—1910.
Edited by Alan H. Burgoyne. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net;
EDITION DE LUXE, 12s. 6d. net.

"The publication of such a work as 'The Navy League Annual' is of importance . . . it is full of articles of engrossing interest by some of the ablest writers of the day, and Mr. Burgoyne has accomplished much, as the Editor. . . . Altogether the book is a storehouse of information on current naval history."—

The Globe.

"'The Navy League Annual' as it stands to-day is really a model of what such a book of reference should be . . . a series of essays on Naval matters worthy of the closest study. Anyone who wishes to learn all that can be learnt, theoretically, concerning ships and the sea cannot do better than to buy this admirable volume for half-a-crown."—*National Defence.*

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. By Geoffrey Drage, Author of
"Russian Affairs." With Maps. Medium 8vo. 21s. net.

"Mr. Drage has aimed, he tells us in the preface, at making a permanent contribution to the subject; and after a critical and exhaustive examination of the work, we can aver that he has succeeded. . . . The standard work of the time on Austria-Hungary."—*The Globe.*

IRISH LAND PURCHASE: Progress and Deadlock.
The Government's New Bill. By the Earl of Dunraven. In
Paper Covers 1d.

COLLECTIVISM. A Study of some of the Leading Social
Questions of the Day. By Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, Member of the
Institute and Professor of the College of France. Abridged and
Translated by Sir Arthur Clay, Bart. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Politics—continued.

THE COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF INDIA.

Being an Abridgment of "The Dictionary of the Economic Products of India." By Sir George Watt, C.I.E., M.B., LL.D. Medium 8vo. 16s. net.

LETTERS TO A LADY ON VOTES FOR WOMEN.

By A. V. Dicey, K.C., Hon. D.C.L. In Paper Covers. Crown 8vo. 1s. net.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

Four Essays: Prospects of Popular Government—Nature of Democracy—Age of Progress—Constitution of the United States. By Sir Henry S. Maine, F.R.S., Author of "Ancient Law." A Cheap Edition. Large Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN

NATIVES: Their Present Condition and Progress. Edited by the South African Native Races Committee. Demy 8vo. 6s. net.

THE SERVICE OF THE STATE.

Four Lectures on the Political Teaching of T. H. Green. By J. H. Muirhead, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Birmingham. Demy 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

Military and Naval.

LETTERS FROM THE PENINSULA, (1808-1812).

By Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Warre, C.B., K.T.S. Edited by his Nephew, the Rev. Edmond Warre, D.D., C.B., M.V.O., Provost of Eton. With a Portrait and Map. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"We owe it to a happy chance that this exceedingly interesting collection of excellent letters should have come to light . . . they throw a vivid, illuminating, and often novel light on the acts and the players of a great drama. They are full of good-feeling and shrewd sense. They have a personal and a public value and they make a notable contribution to the extra volumes of history. . . . We find enthusiasm, sincerity, a deep and natural piety, a good sense of humour, and a keen sensibility to the distresses and sufferings inflicted by war. We find, too, a shrewd criticism of men and things, both as regards the campaign itself and domestic politics in England."—*Evening Standard*.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHIEF CAMPAIGNS IN EUROPE SINCE 1792.

By General A. von Horsetzky. Translated by Lieutenant K. B. Ferguson. With numerous Maps. Demy 8vo. 18s. net.

"We have nothing but praise for Gen. von Horsetzky's book. It is a valuable addition to military literature, for we do not know where else, in such form, records of so many campaigns can be studied. The work of translation and condensation has been admirably done. The merit of the book is its extreme clearness and known accuracy . . . those who desire to gain a correct idea of modern military history will find the book invaluable."—*Army and Navy Gazette*.

Military and Naval—continued.

RASPLATA (The Reckoning). By Commander Wladimir Semenoff. His Diary during the Blockade of Port Arthur and the Voyage of the Fleets under Admiral Rojdestvensky. With Maps. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"Commander Semenoff writes only of what he knows and has seen. His simple candour and the cool intrepidity enable him to record his experiences at the moment in the most appalling scenes of naval conflict that modern times have known."—*Times*.

"An authentic record of the highest value, which is likely to become a classic among naval annals."—*Westminster Gazette*.

CAVALRY IN FUTURE WARS. By His Excellency Lieut.-General Frederick Von Bernhardt. Translated by Charles Sydney Goldman. With an Introduction by Lieut.-General Sir John French, K.C.M.G., K.C.B., G.C.V.O. Second Edition. 10s. 6d. net.

NELSON AND OTHER NAVAL STUDIES.

By James R. Thursfield. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. net

"Mr. Thursfield's new volume will be welcomed by all students of naval affairs. His authority to speak is unquestionable—his scholarly study of naval history and his long practical experience in following manœuvres and the developments of naval matériel and strategy make him a peculiarly sane and illuminating writer on naval problems. Mr. Thursfield, in his highly important essay on 'The Strategy of Position,' gives the most lucid and most able defence that we have yet seen of the recent changes in the disposition of our fleet."—*The Spectator*.

THE RUSSIAN ARMY AND THE JAPANESE WAR. Being Historical and Critical Comments on the Military Policy and Power of Russia and on the Campaign in the Far East. By General Kuropatkin. Translated by Captain A. B. Lindsay. Edited by Major E. D. Swinton, D.S.O., R.E. With Maps and Illustrations. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo. 28s. net.

"... We doubt if a more virile or sincere document was ever put before the public, and it says little for the official wisdom of General Kuropatkin's fellow-countrymen that such a record should have been suppressed in the land of its origin. In England, at any rate, the patent honesty and abundant good feeling of these measured criticisms will be valued at their proper worth."—*Daily Telegraph*.

THE TERRITORIAL FORCE. A Manual of its Law, Organization and Administration. By Harold Baker, M.A. With an Introduction by the Right Honble. R. B. Haldane, K.C., M.P. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

Military and Naval—continued.

THE FRONTIERSMAN'S POCKET BOOK.

Compiled and Edited by Roger Pocock on behalf of the Council of the Legion of Frontiersmen. With Illustrations. Leather, 5s. net.

"Will prove a veritable godsend to all explorers, travellers, emigrants, and to every man who himself leads or has to do with those who lead an out-door life. Every contributor is an adept, and every subject treated is handled in masterly fashion."—*English Mechanic*.

THE BOOK OF WAR. Translated into English by Captain E. F. Calthrop, R.A. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

HYDROGRAPHICAL SURVEYING. Description of the Means and Methods employed in Constructing Marine Charts. By the late Rear-Admiral Sir W. J. L. Wharton, K.C.B. A New Edition, revised and enlarged, by Rear-Admiral Mostyn Field, F.R.S., Hydrographer to the Admiralty. With Diagrams and Illustrations. Medium 8vo. 21s. net.

A TERRITORIAL ARMY

IN BEING. A Practical Study of the Militia Systems of Switzerland and Norway. By Lieut.-Colonel C. Delmé-Radcliffe, C.M.G., and J. W. Lewis, late 19th Hussars. With a Preface by F.M. the Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net; or without Illustrations, sewed, 1s. net.

THE TRUTH ABOUT

PORT ARTHUR. By Monsieur E. K. Nojine, accredited Russian War Correspondent during the Siege. Translated and Abridged by Captain A. B. Lindsay. Edited by Major E. D. Swinton, D.S.O. With Map and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

FORTIFICATION : Its Past Achievements, Recent Developments, Future Progress. By Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke, R.E., K.C.M.G., F.R.S. New Edition, enlarged. With numerous Illustrations. Medium 8vo. 18s. net.

FROM LIBAU TO TSU-

SHIMA. A Narrative of the Voyage of Admiral Rojdestvensky's Squadron to the East, including a detailed account of the Dogger Bank Incident. By the late Eugene Polittovsky, Chief Engineer of the Squadron. Translated by Major F. R. Godfrey, R.M.L.I. A Cheap Edition. Large Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

THE BATTLE OF TSU-

SHIMA. Between the Japanese and Russian Fleets, Fought on the 27th May, 1905. By Captain Vladimir Semenov (one of the survivors). Translated by Captain A. B. Lindsay. With a Preface by Sir George Sydenham Clarke. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

ARTILLERY AND EX-

PLOSIVES. Essays and Lectures written and delivered at various Times. By Sir Andrew Noble, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations. Medium 8vo. 21s. net.

Travel, Sport and Adventure.

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA. By Dr. W. E. Geil. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 21s. net.

"The publication of 'The Great Wall of China' is a notable event. It ought to rank as a classic upon this greatest and grandest of all the world's monuments."

—*Leeds Mercury.*

"It is not within our memory that the Great Wall has been so thoroughly and completely explored before. There hardly seemed a nook or a cranny which Dr. Geil has not looked into. He puts before us in graphic and picturesque language the history of Chin, who conceived the idea of the Wall; he tells us in a manner which almost persuades us we are reading a romance how the great Chin gathered his army of men to fight and work. Dr. Geil has given us a vitally interesting book,"—*Daily Graphic.*

HANDBOOK—INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON

including Bengal, Bombay and Madras, the Punjab, North-West Provinces, Rajputana, the Central Provinces, Mysore, etc., the Native States, and Assam. New Edition (Seventh). With 81 Maps and Plans of Towns and Buildings. Crown 8vo. 20s.

WHYMPER'S GUIDES. New Edition.

CHAMONIX AND MONT BLANC. Fourteenth Edition. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. 3s. net

ZERMATT AND THE MATTERHORN. Thirteenth Edition. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. 3s. net.

GENTLEMEN ERRANT. Being the Journeys and Adventures of Four Noblemen in Europe in the XV and XVI Centuries. By Mrs. Henry Cust. With Map and Portraits. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

"These are four Goodly Gentlemen. All the credulity, brutality, rough humour, pomp and slaughter of their time are presented in these pages. Mrs. Cust has, to use an extravagant metaphor, succeeded in driving the worm of meticulous scholarship and the high-stepping steed of romance in double harness. Vivid as they are, her tales are true metal and have an infinite charm."—*The Observer.*

AN EGYPTIAN OASIS. By H. J. Llewellyn Beadnell. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

THE EAST END OF EUROPE. The Report of an Unofficial Mission to the European Provinces of Turkey on the Eve of the Revolution. By Allen Upward. With Preface by the late Sir Edward Law. With Illustrations and Map. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

Travel, Sport and Adventure—continued.

FROM RUWENZORI TO THE CONGO. A

Naturalist's Journey across Africa. By A. F. R. Wollaston. With Maps and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

OVER-SEA BRITAIN. A descriptive record of the Geo-

graphy, the Historical, Ethnological, and Political Development, and the Economic Resources of the Empire. **The Nearer Empire.** The Mediterranean, British Africa, and British America. By E. F. Knight, Author of "Where Three Empires Meet," "Small Boat Sailing," etc. With 9 Coloured Maps. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE UNITED STATES.

By Monsignor Count Vay de Vaya and Luskod, Author of "Empires and Emperors." Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

A PLEASURE-PILGRIM IN SOUTH AMERICA.

By C. D. Mackellar. With Illustrations and Map. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

Art and Archæology.

THE EVOLUTION OF ITALIAN SCULPTURE

By Lord Balcarras, M.P., F.S.A. With Illustrations. Royal 8vo. 21s. net.

"The study which has gone to the making of a book of the kind that lies before us must have been prolonged and deep. Lord Balcarras shows himself possessed of a thorough knowledge of every period in the long cycles of Italian Sculpture and he uses his knowledge with the easy grasp of a master of the subject."—*Globe*.

"One of the most sumptuous volumes of the year. . . . Lord Balcarras never loses sight of his main object—the tracing of the evolution of the art. . . . A beautiful book and a sinecure piece of writing, thoughtful and full of knowledge and good taste, we must give it generous praise."—*Bookman*.

INDIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING. Illus-

trated by Typical Masterpieces. With an Explanation of their Motives and Ideals by E. B. Havell, A.R.C.A., formerly Principal of the School of Art and Keeper of the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. With Coloured and Monochrome Illustrations. Royal 8vo. £3 3s. net.

"Very beautiful volume. We gladly recognise the strength and vitality of his book and take pleasure in recommending it to the reader. Mr. Havell has every qualification for writing a work like the present."—*Morning Post*.

Art and Archæology—continued.

DOURIS AND THE PAINTERS OF GREEK VASES. By Edmond Pottier. Translated by Bettina Kahnweiler. With a Preface by Jane Ellen Harrison. With Coloured and other Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

"Charming monograph by M. Edmond Pottier. . . . he writes with the simplicity of a fable by Æsop. . . . He has made the making and meaning of Greek vases vivid to me."—*Daily Chronicle*.

A CENTURY OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES. By Professor A. Michaelis, of Strasburg. Translated into English by Miss Bettina Kahnweiler. With a Preface by Professor Percy Gardner, of Oxford. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

Miss J. E. HARRISON, the great authority on the subject, writes:—"A piece of work that will be of great value to all archæological students and to the educated public generally. . . . The fact that special stress is laid on German excavations is, as Professor Gardner notes, clear gain to us."

A HISTORY OF BRITISH WATER-COLOUR PAINTING. With a Biographical List of Painters. By H. M. Cundall, I.S.O., F.S.A. With more than 50 Coloured Illustrations. 4to. 21s. net.

"A very beautiful book, whose 58 coloured reproductions furnish in themselves an eloquent commentary on the progress of the art, and are exceptionally well executed . . . reproduced with enough fidelity to serve the student as an initiation into their individual methods. But though it is the wealth and beauty of the illustrations that strikes one in the first instance, Mr. Cundall's essay is very accurate and useful."—*Yorkshire Post*.

THE SHORES OF THE ADRIATIC. The Austrian Side. An Architectural and Archæological Pilgrimage. By F. Hamilton Jackson, R.B.A. With numerous Illustrations from Photographs; Drawings by the Author, and a Map. Medium 8vo. 21s. net.

PILLOW LACE. A Practical Handbook. By Elizabeth Mincoff, Ph.D., and Margaret S. Marriage, M.A. With Fifty Patterns and Illustrations by ERNEST MARRIAGE. Medium 8vo. 15s. net.

GREEK DRESS. A Study of the Costumes worn in Ancient Greece from Pre-Hellenic Times to the Hellenistic Age. By Ethel B. Abrahams, M.A. With Diagrams and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 9s. net.

THE PLATE COLLECTOR'S GUIDE. Arranged from Cripps' "Old English Plate" by Percy Macquoid. With numerous Illustrations. Large Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

THE DISCOVERIES IN CRETE and their Bearing on the History of Early Civilization. By Ronald M. Burrows, Professor of Greek in the University College, Cardiff. With Illustrations. Second Edition, with Addenda. Demy 8vo. 5s. net.

Poetry.

SONGS OF MEMORY AND HOPE. By Henry Newbolt, Author of "The Sailing of the Longships," "The Year of Trafalgar," etc. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

"This, after all, is poetry that stirs the blood and fires the imagination. . . . If after reading this volume we are left with any permanent feeling of regret, it is that a poet who can sing so finely should sing so seldom."—*Daily Graphic*.

"To spend an evening with Mr. Newbolt's little volume brings a rare refreshment to the spirit. There is a quality in his verse which braces the reader up with a sweet, winning freshness, just as a morning breeze will cheer the trampler over an upland within sight of the sea. Sincerity breathes in every line of it."—

Daily Mail.

THE WORKS OF LORD BYRON. A New Text, with many hitherto unpublished additions. Edited by Ernest H. Coleridge and Rowland E. Prothero, M.V.O. With Bibliographies and Full Indices. With Portraits and Illustrations. 13 Vols. (6 Vols. LETTERS, 7 Vols. POETRY). Crown 8vo. 6s. each.

DON JUAN. Complete in one Volume, with new additional Stanzas published for the first time in 1904. Large Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF LORD BYRON. The only complete and copyright Text in one Volume. Edited with an Introduction by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. With Photogravure Portrait. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

THE DEATH OF VIRGIL.

A Dramatic Narrative. By T. H. Warren, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.

THE VIGIL OF BRUN-

HILD. A Narrative Poem, in Blank Verse. By Frederic Manning. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Novels and Belles Lettres.

SHORT NOVELS BY GREAT WRITERS.

Each 2s. 6d. net.

FUN OF THE FAIR.

Eden Phillpotts.

THE IMPENDING SWORD.

Horace A. Vachell.

IRRESOLUTE CATHERINE.

Violet Jacob.

A FISH OUT OF WATER.

F. F. Montrésor.

Novels and Belles Lettres—*continued.*

SHORT NOVELS BY GREAT WRITERS—*continued.*

THE GORGEOUS ISLE.	Gertrude Atherton.
THE LOWEST RUNG.	Mary Cholmondeley.
A COUNTY FAMILY.	Storer Clouston.

NEW NOVELS.

6s. each.

DIAMOND CUT PASTE. Agnes & Egerton Castle.

"Written with a fine discernment of the spirit of to-day, and gives a vivid rendering of a phase of life where veiled words, diplomacy, tact, and the gentlest of manners lie like a delicate gauze over the human passions beneath . . . the book is brilliant; remarkable even in the delicacy with which motives are revealed and laid bare, and the actuality in which the characters are presented."—*World*.

" . . . this excellent story . . . a delightful comedy with a real human interest, played out by life-like folk, and it is sure to please the wide public which these talented authors have won for themselves."—*Daily Telegraph*.

THE FLORENTINE FRAME.

Miss Elizabeth Robins.

"One of the most powerful and complex stories that we have ever had the interest of reading. The story is an enthralling one, original, well written, and of great human interest. And no two persons will ever agree exactly as to how the tangled skein should have been unravelled."—*Evening Standard*.

THE HAVEN.

Eden Phillpotts.

" . . . full of fine work. No one can read 'The Haven' without feeling it to be a faithful transcript from life. It carries conviction in every page. As a study of humble life it would be difficult to find anything in recent fiction more careful and more finished than this."—*Bookman*.

IN THE SHADE.

Miss Valentina Hawtrey.

"'In the Shade' has a strong, original plot, worked out with an uncommonly shrewd knowledge of human nature and exceeding truth to life. The reader with a turn for psychology will delight in the study of the parents, whose development is the best feature of the novel."—*Evening Standard*.

THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS.

Marmaduke Pickthall.

"Mr. Pickthall repeats his earlier triumph of making the children of the sand-hills live for English readers, in all their mingled naiveté and guile. . . . The English come in, and vividly, but the detachment of the author is absolute. His humour permeates every line, but never does one catch a chuckle from him. The picture is delightful. . . . For pathos, humanity, atmosphere, and fun 'The Valley of the Kings' may be read and laughed over and read again."—*Evening Standard*.

Novels and Belles Lettres—continued.

NEW NOVELS. 6s. each—continued.

WITH THE MERRY AUSTRIANS.

Miss Amy McLaren.

"A pleasanter companion than this pretty book, for a journey or an evening at home, could not well be imagined."—*Yorkshire Observer*.

THE TENANTS OF PIXY FARM.

Miss Maude Goldring.

"A very good story, with just sufficient of the spirit of the woods breathed into it and around its people to give them individuality. . . . It is in the secret tragedies of temperament, in the contrasting characters of the book, the grave, the gay, the sweet, and the bitter, in all the little things that make up a country life, of which Miss Goldring writes with sympathy and a keen understanding."—*Daily Chronicle*.

NAMELESS.

The Hon. Mrs. Walter R. D. Forbes.

"Mrs. Forbes understands her art well, and practises it with painstaking. Her books have atmosphere and life and a leisurely air of deliberate workmanship. A novel which may be confidently recommended to every class of reader. It draws life honestly, but without offence, and the interest in a well-knit plot is sustained unflaggingly from start to finish."—*Daily Telegraph*.

THE SCORE.

Lucas Malet.

FIONA.

Lady Napier of Magdala.

JOHN GOODCHILD.

R. W. Wright-Henderson.

A ROMANCE OF THE NURSERY.

Mrs. L. Allen Harker.

MUCH ADO ABOUT SOMETHING.

C. E. Lawrence.

THE ROMANCE OF A PLAIN MAN.

Ellen Glasgow.

LITTLE DEVIL DOUBT.

Oliver Onions.

THE SHUTTLES OF THE LOOM.

K. M. Edge (Mrs. Caulfeild).

FRANK BURNET.

Dorothy V. Horace Smith.

THE ARCHDEACON'S FAMILY.

Maud Egerton King.

SEPTIMUS.

William J. Locke.

Novels and Belles Lettres—continued.

NEW NOVELS. 6s. each—continued.

- MISS ESPERANCE AND MR. WYCHERLY.
Mrs. L. Allen Harker.
IONE CHALONER. The Earl of Iddesleigh.
BEYOND THE SKYLINE. Robert Aitken.
THE WATERS OF JORDAN. Horace A. Vachell.
THE GENTLEMAN. Alfred Ollivant.

NOVELS. 2s. 6d. net.

THE BISHOP AND THE BOGIE-MAN.

Joel Chandler Harris.

"A real child's adventure. Real and charming too is the conception of Adelaide's imaginary companion, Cally-Lou, who acquires a great reputation among the little girl's friends and admirers. This is a story which no one who is fond of children should miss."—*Morning Post*.

THE SECRET RIVER.

Miss R. Macaulay.

"... this little book merits very serious consideration. It is a beautiful attempt, in the form of a story, to realize the other vision world that is round and about us, a world that is, at rare moments, suddenly revealed and then suddenly again withdrawn. . . . It was no easy thing to carry out, and Miss Macaulay is to be congratulated on her success . . . it has style and discipline, and a very excellent restraint."—*Standard*.

US FOUR. By S. Macnaughtan, Author of "Three Miss Graemes," "A Lame Dog's Diary," etc. Crown 8vo. 6s.

"We have a real and pleasing insight into the lives of children, not a theatrical and fanciful account of precocity. . . . This is a book for the grown-ups rather than for children, and is packed with good thoughts."—*Daily Telegraph*.

"Those who enjoyed 'Three Miss Graemes' will greatly appreciate Miss Macnaughtan's brightly written autobiography, describing her childhood in the Western Highlands. 'Us Four' were a mischief-loving lot. . . . given with rare humour and charm."—*Country Life*.

ON THE FORGOTTEN ROAD. A Chronicle of the Crusade of Children, which happened in the Year 1212. By Henry Baerlein, Author of "The Diwan of Abu'l Ala." Crown 8vo. 6s.

"This brilliant historical novel. . . . Its style is so distinguished; it is so skilfully interlarded with mediævalisms. It reads as if it were an old chronicle; it is full of the quaint people of the middle ages, with their pointed shoes and furred robes; it is full of the uruly youth of the thirteenth century. . . . 'On the Forgotten Road' has the flavour of Giotto in its pages."—*Queen*.

Novels and Belles Lettres—continued.

STORIES TOLD BY THE MILLER. By Violet

Jacob, Author of "Irresolute Catherine," "The Sheepstealers,"

"The Golden Heart," etc. With 7 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6s.

"The most delightful volume of fairy stories we have read this year. They are written in a charming manner, and ought to take their place among the classics of the nursery."—*Court Journal*.

"The tales are quite frankly fairy-tales, and full of witches and miracles, but they are told with charming naturalness and a freedom from the conventions of make-belief which makes them perfectly delightful."—*Standard of Empire*.

IN THE EVENING. By Charles Stewart. With Two

Coloured Illustrations. Large Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

IN A GOOD CAUSE. Stories and Verses. By F. Anstey,

Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., Owen Seaman, W. Pett Ridge,

Marjorie Bowen, Richard Pryce, Henry Newbolt, W.

Graham Robertson and Tom Gallon. With an Illustration

by the late Phil May. Issued on behalf of the Hospital for Sick

Children, Great Ormond Street. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

HUMOURS OF THE COUNTRY. Chosen by

R. U. S. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

THE PRESS ALBUM. Published for the Benefit of

the Journalists' Orphan Fund. Written and Illustrated by

Leading Authors, Poets and Artists of the Day. Edited by

Thomas Catling. Royal 8vo. 2s. 6d. net. A LIMITED EDITION

at 21s. net.

SCENES AND PORTRAITS. By Frederic Manning,

Author of "The Vigil of Brunhild." Crown 8vo. 6s.

"It is excellent work of a rare kind, and will leaven a large lump of current literature."—*The Times*.

"They have a curious originality and, though fantastic in the extreme, always singularly alert and attractive. They will be welcomed because they contain much that is fresh and unexpected and stimulating."—*Observer*.

JOHN CHINAMAN AND A FEW OTHERS.

By E. H. Parker, Author of "China and Religion," etc.

A Cheaper Edition. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

The peculiar interest that "John Chinaman" possesses at this moment lies in the allusions to the great viceroy Yüan Shī-k'ai, whose political fall, brought about by a Manchu clique, was reported recently, and to the drastic reforms now being carried out in China, most of which were foreshadowed by the Author during the "Boxer" revolt of 1900.

Novels and Belles Lettres—continued.

ESSAYS OF POETS AND POETRY. Ancient and Modern. By T. Herbert Warren, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and President of Magdalen; Author of "Prince Christian Victor," "By Severn Seas," etc. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"This is a delightful book, and will, we predict, give an immense deal of pleasure wherever sound learning and true literature are loved and flourish. . . . We cannot leave Mr. Warren's book without expressing once more our delight in work so sound, so sane, and so vigorous. What a comfort to find a critic who is interested not in himself but in the men he writes about, who wants not to show off his own cleverness but to exhibit the beauties of the poets of whom he writes, who does not pose and posture in front of some noble masterpiece, but with courtesy and good breeding shows cause why this or that rule should be made absolute in the High Court of Letters."—*Spectator*.

THE LETTERS OF A REMITTANCE MAN TO HIS MOTHER. By W. H. P. Jarvis. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

FROM MONTAIGNE TO MOLIÈRE; or, The Preparation for the Classical Age of French Literature. By Arthur Tilley, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Large Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

THE PLEASANT LAND OF FRANCE. By Rowland E. Prothero, M.V.O., Author of "The Psalms in Human Life," etc. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

MEMORIES AND VAGARIES. By Axel Munthe. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

WORKS OF SAMUEL SMILES. In specially designed cover, with full gilt back, gilt top, and silk marker. F'cap 8vo. With Illustrations. Thin Paper Edition. Cloth, 2s. net; lambskin, 2s. 6d. net each.

SELF-HELP. | CHARACTER. | DUTY. | THRIFT.

WORKS OF GEORGE BORROW (Copyright Edition).

Thin Paper Edition. F'cap 8vo. In specially designed cover, with full gilt back. Illustrated. Cloth, 1s. net; lambskin, gilt top, 2s. net.

THE BIBLE IN SPAIN.
LAVENGRO.
ROMANY RYE.
WILD WALES.

THE GYPSIES OF SPAIN.
ROMANO LAVO LIL: The Word Book of the Romany or English Gypsy Language.

Law.

INTERNATIONAL LAW. By T. Baty, D.C.L., LL.D., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"An extremely well-written and interesting essay on the philosophy of International Law. The whole book shews wide reading, and contains both pertinent criticism and acute reasoning."—*Solicitors' Journal*.

"A valuable contribution to the subject. . . . The style of the book makes it far easier to read and understand than is usually the case in books of this kind. It is clearly and intelligibly written, and the author possesses what is a great help to the reader—the saving grace of humour."—*Sheffield Daily Telegraph*.

THE LAW OF HOSPITALS, INFIRMARIES, DISPENSARIES, and other Kindred Institutions, whether Voluntary or Rate-supported. By Arthur Turnour Murray. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"It is impossible, within the space available, to do justice to this valuable addition to the standard literature of a legal-institutional character; but we can heartily recommend it to the governors, secretaries, and staffs of all hospitals in this country, whatever their nature may be. . . . A valuable and authoritative text-book upon a difficult and intricate branch of the law."—*The Hospital*.

THE AUSTINIAN THEORY OF LAW. Being an Edition of Lectures I, V and VI of Austin's "Jurisprudence," and of Austin's "Essay on the Uses of the Study of Jurisprudence." With Critical Notes and Excursus by W. Jethro Brown, LL.D., Litt.D., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"We are praising this book not for the sake of Austin, but for that of Prof. Brown. His numerous notes and excursus furnish exactly what the student requires."—*Athenæum*.

Medical.

MOSQUITO OR MAN? The Conquest of the Tropical World. By Sir Rubert W. Boyce, F.R.S. With Illustrations. Medium 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"Sir Rubert, writing with much lucidity and not a little spirit, follows the course of medical research in the tropics from strength to strength, accompanying his narrative with many elucidatory statistics and a number of striking photographs. Altogether this is a book of first-rate importance, to both the medical man and the public servant."—*Daily Telegraph*.

"This is an admirable book, which could be read with much advantage, not only by medical men, but also by any layman who is interested in the tropics."—*Hospital*.

CHILDREN IN HEALTH AND DISEASE. A Study of Child Life. By David Forsyth, M.D., D.Sc. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Medical—continued.

A HANDBOOK OF PHYSIOLOGY. By W. D. Halliburton, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Physiology, King's College, London. New (Ninth) Edition, being the Twenty-Second of Kirkes'. With nearly 700 Illustrations, including some Coloured Plates. Large Crown 8vo. 15s. net.

THE NERVOUS SYSTEM OF VERTEBRATES.

By J. B. Johnston, Ph.D., Professor of Zoology in West Virginia University. With 180 Illustrations. 15s. net.

"The book is thoroughly scientific in its treatment of the numerous parts of the nervous system dealt with. It is written by one who is evidently a master of his subject, and every chapter bears the impress of knowledge obtained at first hand."—*Medical Times*.

NEW VOLUMES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON SERIES.

INTRACELLULAR ENZYMES. A Course of Lectures given in the Physiological Laboratory, University of London. By H. M. Vernon, M.D. Medium 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

THERAPEUTICS OF THE CIRCULATION.

By Sir T. Lauder Brunton, Bart., D.Sc., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Author of "Handbook of Pharmacology, Materia Medica and Therapeutics." With numerous Diagrams. Medium 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

Science.

PHYSIOGRAPHY. Shorter Course. By Rollin D. Salisbury, Department of Geology and Geography, University of Chicago; Member of the United States Geological Survey. With numerous Illustrations. Large Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

RECENT PROGRESS IN THE STUDY OF VARIATION, HEREDITY AND EVOLUTION. By Robert H. Lock, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. New and Cheaper Edition. With Portraits and other Illustrations. Large Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL SCIENCE. By W. C. D. Whetham, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cheap Edition. Illustrated. Large Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

Science—continued.

MICROSCOPY. The Construction, Theory, and Use of the Microscope. By Edmund J. Spitta, F.R.A.S., F.R.M.S., etc. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations. Second Edition. 12s. 6d. net.

PEARLS AND PARASITES. A Series of Essays on Scientific Subjects. By A. E. Shipley, M.A., Hon. D.Sc. (Princeton), F.R.S., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS AND SOME OTHER LEGENDS ASTRONOMICALLY CONSIDERED. By the Hon. Emmeline M. Plunket, Author of "Ancient Calendars and Constellations." With Illustrations. Square Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

THE HEREDITY OF ACQUIRED CHARACTERS IN PLANTS. An Aspect of the true Darwinism based on Personal Observations and Experiments. By the Rev. Prof. George Henslow. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 6s. net.

PHYSIOGRAPHY. By Rollin D. Salisbury. With numerous Illustrations. 21s. net.

"The whole subject is covered in a clear and fascinating style . . . wealth of Illustrations. . . . These are beautifully reproduced, and drive through the eye the proportions set forth in the text."—*Scotsman*.

FIVE NEW VOLUMES IN THE PROGRESSIVE SCIENCE SERIES.

THE INTERPRETATION OF RADIUM. By Frederick Soddy, Lecturer in Physical Chemistry in the University of Glasgow. With Diagrams. 6s. net.

THE PROBLEM OF AGE, GROWTH, AND DEATH A Study of Cytomorphosis. By Charles S. Minot, LL.D., Professor of Comparative Anatomy in the Harvard Medical School. Illustrated. 6s. net.

THE SOLAR SYSTEM. A Study of Recent Observations. By Charles Lane Poor, Professor of Astronomy in Columbia University. 6s. net.

CLIMATE, considered especially in Relation to Man By Robert de Courcy Ward, Assistant Professor of Climatology in Harvard University. 6s. net.

HEREDITY. By J. Arthur Thomson, Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen. With Coloured and other Illustrations. Large Crown 8vo. 9s. net.

Educational.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF BOYS IN ENGLAND. By Cyril Norwood, M.A., Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School; and Arthur H. Hope, M.A., late Assistant Master at Radley College. 12s. net.

JAPANESE EDUCATION. Lectures delivered in the University of London. By Baron Dairoku Kikuchi. Demy 8vo. 5s. net.

"Will be found very instructive to all interested in scholastic work."—*Outlook*.

Gardening and Nature.

FERTILISERS AND MANURES. By A. D. Hall, M.A. (Oxon.), Director of the Rothamsted Station (Lawes Agricultural Trust), Author of "The Soil," "The Book of Rothamsted Experiments," etc. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

THE SOIL. An Introduction to the Scientific Study of the Growth of Crops. By A. D. Hall, M.A., Director of the Rothamsted Station (Lawes Agricultural Trust). A New Edition. Crown 8vo. With Diagrams, etc. 5s. net.

The science of agriculture has advanced considerably since the first edition of this work was published, so Mr. Hall has taken advantage of the need for a reprint to produce what is practically a new book. A good deal of fresh material has been added, the latest statistics have been included and the whole text has been thoroughly overhauled and re-set, bringing everything completely up to date.

AN ESSAY ON THE MAKING OF GARDENS.

Being a Study of Old Italian Gardens, of the Nature of Beauty and the Principles involved in Garden Design. By Sir George Sitwell, Bart. Square Demy 8vo. 5s. net.

FRENCH MARKET - GARDENING. Including Practical Details of "Intensive Cultivation" for English Growers. By John Weathers, Author of "A Practical Guide to Garden Plants," &c. With a Preface by William Robinson, Author of "The English Flower Garden," etc. With numerous Illustrations. Large Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

Gardening and Nature—continued.

THE ENGLISH FLOWER GARDEN AND HOME GROUNDS. By William Robinson. New (Eleventh) Edition. Illustrated with many Engravings on Wood. Medium 8vo. 15s. net.

THE LIFE STORY OF AN OTTER. By J. C. Tregarthen, Author of "Wild Life at the Land's End" and "The Life Story of a Fox." With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 6s. net.

"It would be difficult to present nature study in a more attractive form than that which has been adopted by Mr. Tregarthen. All who are interested in wild life will enjoy the freshness of a narrative which is as exhilarating as any Otter hunt can be."—*Scotsman*.

Theology.

ORDERS AND UNITY. By the Right Rev. Charles Gore, D.D., Bishop of Birmingham. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net

THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM'S WORKS. Uniform and Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each.

THE INCARNATION OF THE SON OF GOD.
BAMPTON LECTURES, 1891.

THE BODY OF CHRIST.

DISSERTATIONS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE INCARNATION.

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. 2 Vols.

THE NEW THEOLOGY AND THE OLD RELIGION. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.

ROMAN CATHOLIC OPPOSITION TO PAPAL INFALLIBILITY. An Historical Account of the Growth and Development of the Doctrine and the Opposition met with in the Roman Catholic Church. By the Rev. W. J. Sparrow Simpson, Chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital, Ilford. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

Theology—continued.**THE APOCALYPSE**, or Revelation of S. John the Divine.

By the Rev. J. J. Scott, M.A., Canon of Manchester: Author of "The Life of Christ," "The Making of the Gospels." Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

" . . . We hope that this volume will inspire those of its readers to whom the subject is new with a determination to study it further."—*Church Times*.

" . . . A thoroughly sane and scholarly contribution."—*Scotsman*.

"The lectures contain the result of diligent study for many years, and it is put in a very interesting manner, that the ordinary reader may be enabled to follow the writer in every page. . . . Cannot fail to make the Apocalypse to be more intelligible to all who read it."—*Western Daily Mercury*.

HISTORY, AUTHORITY AND THEOLOGY.

By A. C. Headlam, M.A., D.D., Principal of King's College, London. Large Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

THE LATE CANON MOBERLY'S WORKS.

Cheaper Edition. Demy 8vo. 6s. net each.

PROBLEMS AND PRINCIPLES. Being Papers on Subjects Theological and Ecclesiastical.

CHRIST OUR LIFE. Sermons chiefly preached at Oxford.

ATONEMENT AND PERSONALITY.

MINISTERIAL PRIESTHOOD. Six Chapters preliminary to the Study of the Ordinal.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN

CHURCH. From its Foundation to the End of the Third Century. By Monsignor Louis Duchesne. Demy 8vo. 9s. net.

"It has a breadth of view in dealing with the results of modern scholars, and in sensibly maintaining the authority of the old writers that cannot but recommend it to Roman Catholic readers seriously in the advance of historical science and yet anxious to avoid a reproach of modernism."—*Scotsman*.

CHURCHMANSHIP AND CHARACTER. Three

Years' Teaching in Birmingham Cathedral. By the Rev. Canon W. H. Carnegie, Rector and Canon of Birmingham Cathedral. Large Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

"His words always ring with a manly sound. There is not a syllable of conventional phraseology in them, no display of pulpit eloquence, no sensational imagery. Yet the sentences swing along with the ease gained by years of sincere thought, by the activities of social life for the community, and by intercourse with kindred spirits."—*Birmingham Post*.

Theology—continued.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS. Six Lectures given in Westminster Abbey during Lent, 1908. By the Rev. H. C. Beeching, Canon of Westminster. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE LAST THINGS. By the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., Jesus College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN. The Greek Text Revised, with a Revised English Version and Notes. By the late B. F. Westcott, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo. 24s. net.

CONTENTIO VERITATIS. Essays in Constructive Theology. By Six Oxford Tutors. A Revised and Cheap Edition. Demy 8vo. 5s. net.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST, with other Occasional Papers. By the Rev. P. N. Waggett, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

Periodicals.

1909 ISSUE.

CITY AND GUILDS OF LONDON INSTITUTE Department of Technology. Programme containing Regulations for the Registration, Conduct and Inspection of Classes, and Examination of Candidates in Technology and Manual Training. Published annually. Demy 8vo. 9d. net.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION, 1908. With Rules and List of Members. 2s. 6d. net.

THE YEAR'S WORK in CLASSICAL STUDIES, 1908. Edited for the Council of the Classical Association by W. H. D. Rouse, M.A., Litt.D. 2s. 6d. net.

BOARD OF EXAMINATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL HANDWORK. 1909 Issue. Recognized by the Board of Education. Regulations and Syllabus together with Lists of Certificate Holders and Registered Teachers. In Paper Covers. 6d. net.

Romance of the East Series.

Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each.

In this series the great store-houses of Oriental romance will be opened for the first time to the public. Tales from the Sanscrit, from the Chinese, from every language of the East possessing a great literature will appear in due course. From these vivid narratives of old world romance it will be possible for the reader to glean much information concerning the lives and manners and customs of vanished races, and the greatness of Empires that have passed away.

"Judging by the first two volumes of Oriental folk-lore and fables which Mr. L. Cranmer-Byng is editing under the collective title of 'The Romance of the East' . . . the series will be of great charm and interest. . . . Sir Arthur N. Wollaston has done his work so well that one cannot imagine it done better . . . he has succeeded in retaining the peculiar *je ne sais quoi* which is the lure and the witchery of the East. . . . His English is of the very best, simple and dignified and clear—in fact, the ideal language for fable and folk-lore."—*Westminster Gazette*.

"They have the wild picturesqueness of the 'Arabian Nights' and the same strain of humour."—*Birmingham Post*.

THE GOLDEN TOWN, and other Tales. From Soma-Deva's "Ocean of Romance Rivers." By L. D. BARNETT, LL.D.

TALES OF THE CALIPHS. By CLAUD FIELD, Author of "The Confessions of Al Ghazzali."

TALES WITHIN TALES. By Sir ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, K.C.I.E.

Wisdom of the East Series.

Pott 16mo. Cloth limp.

THE SPLENDOUR OF GOD. Being Extracts from the Sacred Writings of the Bahai. With Introduction by ERIC HAMMOND. 2s. net.

THE CONFESSIONS OF AL GHAZZALI. Translated for the first time into English by CLAUD FIELD. 1s. net.

A LUTE OF JADE. By L. CRANMER-BYNG. 2s. net.

THE BOOK OF FILIAL DUTY. Translated from the Chinese of the Hsiao Ching. With the 24 Examples. By IWAN CHEN, First Secretary to the Chinese Legation. 1s. net.

THE HEART OF INDIA. By L. D. BARNETT, LL.D. 2s. net.

THE DIWAN OF ABU'L ALA. By HENRY BAERLEIN. 1s. net.

THE CONDUCT OF LIFE; or, The Universal Order of Confucius. A Translation of one of the four Confucian Books, hitherto known as the Doctrine of the Mean. By KU HUNG MING, M.A. (Edin.). 1s. net.

BRAHMA-KNOWLEDGE: An Outline of the Philosophy of the Vedānta. As set forth by the Upanishads and by Śāṅkara. By L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D. 2s. net.

CONTENTS

OF

No. 422.—JANUARY, 1910.

-
- ART. 1.—BYRON AND BONAPARTE - - - - -
1. Recollections of a Long Life. By Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse). Edited by his daughter Lady Dorchester. Two vols. London: Murray, 1908.
 2. The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris during the Last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon. Two vols. London: Ridgways, 1816.
- And other works.
- ART. 2.—THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES - - - - - 3
1. A Guide to the various classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office. By S. R. Scargill-Bird. Third edition. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1908.
 2. Studies in English Official Historical Documents. By Hubert Hall. Cambridge: University Press, 1908.
- And other works.
- ART. 3.—JACOPONE DA TODI: THE POET OF THE 'STABAT MATER' - - - - - 53
1. Bibliographical Notes on the Poems of the Blessed Jacopone da Todi, and on the writers who speak of him. By Eduard Boehmer. Romanische Studien, 1871.
 2. Jacobone da Todi, il Giullare di Dio del secolo xiii. By Alessandro d'Ancona. Nuova Antologia, vol. xxi, 1880.
- And other works.
- ART. 4.—ANCIENT JERUSALEM - - - - - 73
1. Jerusalem: the Topography, Economics, and History, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70. By George Adam Smith, D.D. Two vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907-8.
 2. Ancient Jerusalem. By Selah Merrill. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908.
- And other works.
- ART. 5.—GOLF DURING THIRTY YEARS - - - - - 103
- Golf. 'The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes.' Edited by the Duke of Beaufort. London: Longmans, 1890.
- And other works.
- Vol. 212.—No. 422. *b*

CONTENTS

PAGE

RISE OF THE NATIVE - - - - -	121
<p>ia (Advisory and Legislative Councils). Pro- of the Government of India, etc. Government k, London, 1908; and the Government of Gazette, Calcutta, November 15, 1909. ottes de Grimaldi (Baoussé Roussé), etc. By Dr eaux, and others. (A description of prehistoric o, Cro Magnon, and other human remains in thern France.) Imprimerie de Monaco, 1908. And other works.</p>	
—WHAT THE POOR WANT - - - - -	152
<p>he Condition of England. By C. F. G. Masterman. London: Methuen, 1909. The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country. The Next Street But One. From Their Point of View. An Englishman's Castle. Four vols. By M. Loane. London: Arnold, 1905-9. And other works.</p>	
ART. 8.—DEMOCRACY IN SWITZERLAND - - - - -	180
<p>1. Les Constitutions Fédérales de la Confédération Suisse. Par C. Hilty, Docteur en Droit, Professeur à l'Université de Berne. Neuchâtel, 1891. 2. De la Liberté Politique dans l'État Moderne. Par Arthur Desjardins. Paris, 1894. And other works.</p>	
ART. 9.—GEORGE MEREDITH - - - - -	207
<p>The Collected Works of George Meredith. Thirty-one vols. London: Constable, 1896-8.</p>	
ART. 10.—ORIENTAL ART - - - - -	225
<p>Painting in the Far East. By Laurence Binyon. London: Arnold, 1908. And other works.</p>	
ART. 11.—BEFORE AND AFTER THE DESCENT FROM ELBA	240
<p>Le Revirement de la Politique Autrichienne. Négocia- tions secrètes, Novembre 1814—Mars 1815. By Com- mandant Weil. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1908. And other works.</p>	
ART. 12.—ANGUS - - - - -	266
<p>Angus or Forfarshire, the Land and People. Five vols. By Alex. J. Warden. Dundee: Alexander, 1880-1885. And other works.</p>	
ART. 13.—THE APPEAL TO THE NATION - - - - -	281
<p>The Lords' Debate on the Finance Bill, 1909. Reprinted from the 'Times' of November 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, and 30. And other works.</p>	

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 422.—JANUARY, 1910.

Art 1.—BYRON AND BONAPARTE.

1. *Recollections of a Long Life.* By Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse). Edited by his daughter, Lady Dorchester. Two vols. London: Murray, 1909.
2. *The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris during the Last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon.* Two vols. London: Ridgways, 1816.
3. *Byron: the Last Phase.* By Richard Edgecumbe. London: Murray, 1909.

ALL books of good gossip are good things, but one strongly flavoured with two such ingredients as our title indicates transcends its congeners. In the history of Europe there have not appeared half a dozen human manifestations upon the Napoleonic plane, nor have there arisen more than that number of poets as great or greater than Byron in the literature of England. These two personages were in their several ways the most prominent children of the French Revolution, and every new thing written of them has still that odour of freshness which hangs about all topics that have been touched by the rose of the great epoch.

Lord Broughton was a well-known social and literary figure in the first half of the nineteenth century. A catalogue of his works fills more than a column in the pages of the Dictionary of National Biography. But of these we need only now mention his two octavo volumes published in 1816 upon Napoleon's 'Last Reign,' from Elba to Waterloo, and his 'Recollections of a Long Life,' privately printed in 1865. The first of these was somewhat severely attacked at the time of its publication,

chiefly on account of its author's marked dislike of the Bourbon dynasty and his sympathy with Napoleon. It is not very easily accessible, so that possibly the general reader will have to rest content with the not infrequent quotations from it in the volumes now in review. With regard to the second work, the same intelligent class will have to repose for the present upon that instalment of the five volumes of 1865 which Lord Broughton's daughter has thought sufficient for to-day. We desire, however, to express a respectful hope that ere long Lady Dorchester may not consider it indiscreet to complete a publication which we confidently venture to assure her will be neither valueless nor unwelcome.

John Cam Hobhouse was born at Bristol in 1786, two years before his illustrious friend Lord Byron. He got his earliest teaching at a school in that city, kept by Dr Estlin, a Unitarian minister. Accident had at that time brought together in Bristol a group of famous residents, including Coleridge, Southey, and Lamb, besides Dr Beddoes the chemist, and his still more remarkable assistant, Humphry Davy. The fact that as Hobhouse rose to the top of the school he was allowed to be present at some of the small literary suppers which Dr Estlin was in the habit of giving, has enabled him to tell one or two of the earliest among the many good stories which are to be found in these 'Recollections.' From Bristol he was removed to Westminster, and while there, and subsequently, in the enjoyment of an admirable privilege, he occasionally sat under the stranger's gallery and listened to the debates in the House of Commons. He thus heard Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Windham, in the zenith of their fame, and Plunket, Grattan, and Canning, in the dawn of theirs. From Westminster he proceeded to Trinity, Cambridge, where he formed the friendship of his life. The immeasurable superiority of Byron does not preclude an admission that it is scarcely more to Broughton's honour that the brilliant man of genius should have selected him, than it is to the advantage of Byron's repute that a man of Broughton's character should have remained his persistent upholder and unshrinking friend. Lord Rosebery has called him the High Priest of the Byron mystery, and we may feel sure that, had certain alleged forms of pollution been enacted

in the Temple, he would not have remained to officiate at the shrine.

In June 1809 the two friends set forth upon their memorable tour in southern and eastern Europe. To Byron the occasion was the baptism and illumination of his genius, a revelation of the past, an exposition of the present, a vision of the future. To him this tour was in all reality a pilgrimage from which the votary brought home four precious relics preserved to us in the cantos of 'Childe Harold.' It is amazing how soon the false theatrical costume drops from the limbs of the true poet. We echo his own 'good night' to the Childe as soon as his 'Adieu' is sung at the close of the thirteenth stanza of the first canto. From that moment all obsolete affectations are abandoned; the very verse, with a few occasional lapses, grows natural and genuine, and the antique Spenserian stanza becomes a modern creation all Byron's own. The sea voyage has done its health-giving work, and the landscape and history of the Spanish peninsula dominate him forthwith. We are whirled with him through, or rather over, all the natural glories of Lusitania and Hispania—mountain, forest, vale, and river. Was ever landscape painted on so grand a scale, with so broad a brush, except elsewhere by himself! It is true that we are drawn off from it to give a momentary blush for the Convention of Cintra, to pay a passing tribute to Pelagio, to gratify our taste for battle over Talavera and Albuera. We help to glorify the Maid of Saragossa; we are even induced to yield to the unhealthy but seductive excitement of a bull-fight. Fired by all we have read of the past, and indignant with all we know of the present, we break out with him into the spirited cry:

'Awake, ye sons of Spain! awake! advance!
Lo! Chivalry, your ancient goddess, cries,
But wields not, as of old, her thirsty lance,
Nor shakes her crimson plumage in the skies:
Now on the smoke of blazing bolts she flies,
And speaks in thunder through yon engine's roar;
In every peal she calls—"Awake! arise!"
Say, is her voice more feeble than of yore,
When her war-song was heard on Andalusia's shore?'

But it is the masterful landscape that chiefly enthralls

us; as is most natural, while we are the companions and shadows of a boy poet. The book itself marches on, improving in an unbroken progress, and accumulating wealth of scenery, historical association, and passion, now enthusiastic, now indignant, now melancholy. The last canto is its culmination, surpassing the others, swift as they had been, in the rush and speed of its composition. It was written in five or six weeks, almost as many years after its inspiration had been imbibed, yet it is still the gospel of Italy, and has left no room for a second evangelist.

But, if his voyage of two years wrought the intellectual transformation of Byron, the ten months during which he shared it were of great if lowlier advantage to Hobhouse. To him they gave that enlargement of experience which the grand tour, sensibly spent, gives to an intelligent young Englishman. He published an account of his travels, which was well received. The references to them in these 'Recollections' involve just such incidents as a clever and observant youth would care to record. They still make very good reading, but we must leave the reader to pick the plums out of the pudding for himself.

Their sea-passage from Malta through the Gulf of Corinth was enlivened by a series of adventures which have a strong flavour of piracy. It is only fair to give these in Hobhouse's own words:

'Sept. 19. Left Malta and on the 23rd got our first sight of Ancient Greece from the channel betwixt Cephalonia and Zante. On the morning of the 24th, as we were entering the gulf of Corinth we fell in with, chased, and captured a small boat laden with currants, and, fitting her out as a privateer with a spare two-pounder, we went off in her with the surgeon, Mr Swann, a Midshipman, Mr Barker, and ten men. The next day we fell in with a Turkish vessel of about 70 tons, to which we immediately gave chase. She fired upon us in return. One of our crew sitting next to me being shot, and another bullet passing within an inch of my ear. Eventually, the wind dropping, we pulled up alongside of her, and, jumping on board, her crew at once surrendered. We brought her into Patras the next day. . . . That evening we captured a boat from Ithaca, and a Turkish ship from Dulcigno. Lord Byron rummaged her, but found nothing save some worthless arms.'

These four days luckily concluded their piratical escapade. After a picturesque excursion on the north side of the gulf, they found themselves back at Patras, having touched at Missolonghi—fateful spot!—on their way. They rode from Salona, via Cressa, to Delphi, saw the *βαθὺ* of the Pythoness, looked up to the snowy peaks of grim Parnassus, and dutifully drank of the Castalian spring. Hobhouse's description of Delphi is all but limited to a declaration that it 'has nothing either alluring or romantic.' It may be that the hand of the excavator has done much even for the scenic effect of the place, but a modern pilgrim would record a very different sense of its charm.

The travellers made their way overland through Phocis and Boeotia to Athens. They explored the city and its environs, made a tour of Attica, and touched at Euboea. It is strange that, among a great deal of pleasant and varied chitchat, Hobhouse makes but slight reference to the sights and sites of Greece. The Parthenon is dismissed with the following entry:

'Feb. 28. With Mr Galt we went to the Parthenon to view more closely the bas-reliefs.'

However, mercifully, Byron was at work, and the second canto of 'Childe Harold' more than makes up to the world for the somewhat niggardly notes of his less impressionable companion. They parted at Zea, a fact which Hobhouse thus characteristically notifies:

'July 17. Arrived at the port of Zea. Went on board with Lord Byron and his suite. Took leave, *non sine lacrymis*, of this singular young person, on a little stone terrace at the end of the bay, dividing with him a little nosegay of flowers, the last thing perhaps I shall ever divide with him.'

The original 'Recollections' of 1865 passed at once from the year 1810 to 1813, and Lady Dorchester has had recourse to diaries to fill the gap. It looks as if Hobhouse's days were full of reminiscences worth record. As it is, we find sparse notices of dinners in Hall at Trinity, Cambridge, among distinguished company; of two days spent at Canterbury and in its neighbourhood with Byron, who had returned in July 1811, and is now spoken of as his 'dear friend'; later on, of another dinner

at the Club of the Royal Society, where Richard Heber told him a good story of Frederick North and the Dey of Algiers. North, it seems, had asked for permission to see the ladies of the harem. After some parley, the Dey said, through an interpreter, 'He is so ugly, let him see them all.' North had observed that after most of his own speeches to the Dey, the latter unfailingly made one interjection, 'Kedah!' He accordingly asked for a translation of the word, and was tenderly told that the best English equivalent was 'Damned lie.' Heber also told him during the same repast that Lord Portsmouth and the Duke of Grafton, on their way to a duel at Wimbledon, encountered a hearse, which Lord Portsmouth stopped, saying to the driver, 'Hullo! wait there a minute or two, and I'll give you a fare.'

Set among such anecdotes we find a short but doubtless authentic account of the murder of Mr Perceval, of his assassin's trial, condemnation, and courageous death; and a story to the effect that Dr Johnson in his last illness repeatedly forced his infidel physician to kneel while he prayed, and turned round upon him in a rage whenever he failed to say 'Amen.'

Though respectful and correct in his behaviour to his father, he makes it tolerably clear that their relations were, to say the least of it, reserved, and that the absence of confidence and intimacy was, in his judgment, owing to want of active affection upon his father's part. So convinced was he of this that he allowed himself to theorise upon apathy and lethargy of feeling as the common fault of old age. A half-humorous entry of June 27, 1812, deals frankly with this topic:

'Meus pater wants me off with all speed; but, feeling convinced of the truth of the old adage "Out of sight out of mind," and seeing that the same person did the other day leave unread for some time a letter from his son abroad, about whom he did once so much talk, I will not, if possible, consent to be absent from the spot where I may keep the recollection of others alive. Everything I see confirms me in my opinion of aged persons.'

This passage was probably written during an access of the melancholy which occasionally beset him; for he passes on straightway to discuss despondently a still

more serious theme. He laments that he has lost all relish for the books that once delighted him. He asks himself what, after all, is the use of reading or composition. 'We work on,' he says, 'and die without achieving any good to ourselves, and, if we do good to others, we never know it.' He confesses a hunger for fame, but doubts both the use and the pleasure of it. Even, if gained, it adds not an inch to a man's stature, and puts not a guinea in his purse. It does not prevent him from 'rotting partially while above ground, or altogether when under it.' Neither merit nor fame leaves him 'anything but what it found him—a mere grub, whose annihilation would mean less than the evaporation of a single drop of water from the surface of the ocean,' seeing that the extinction of earth itself would be 'unfelt, except by one small spot in the boundless universe.' He muses on the fact that Herschel's telescope had shown him stars whose light has been two millions of years reaching earth, and from this alone he accepts the unimportance of man.

In 1813 travel-hunger once more overcame him. Byron, with whom he had renewed the closest relations of friendship, was unhappily far too much and too unworthily occupied to go with him. Had it been otherwise, the course of the two years which indelibly blackened the poet's fate might have been differently ordered.

This time he attacked the Continent from the north. According to prevailing fashion he had furnished himself with despatches, as a sure method of obtaining social advantages and facilities in travel. He was thus enabled to present himself to King Bernadotte at Stralsund, and to the Duke of Cumberland at Strelitz. He passed through Berlin, where he was honoured by the notice of distinguished personages, and left that city in company with Mr Douglas Kinnaird. The armistice of Plesswitz was then subsisting, and, through it, the pair were enabled to reach the headquarters of the Emperor Alexander at Breslau. Besides the honour of an introduction to the Tsar, they made the acquaintance of General Potemkin, Lord Cathcart, Sir Hudson Lowe, Baron Stein, and other prominent people. They were warned off Prague through an oversight in their passport, and turned aside to Vienna where they settled

themselves for some time. That Conference of Prague was then on foot which the fatuousness of Napoleon rendered abortive. Peace on the terms proposed by Austria would have left to France an enormous external territory ; and the madness which could reject such a settlement might well have been accompanied with the insolence commonly attributed to Napoleon, and vouched in a modified form by Hobhouse, of having, after reading the draft through, flung his cocked hat to the other end of the room, exclaiming, 'Metternich, how much did England give you to propose such terms to me!' The nemesis was not long in coming. Dresden and Kulm followed hard on one another. Mr Kinnaird was present at the second battle, but Hobhouse stayed safely at Vienna. Thence he went to Fiume, and across Istria to Pola, where he was much struck with the magnificent amphitheatre, in spite of his memories of 'far more famous ruins in Greece.' His experiences were full and diverse, and included a shooting excursion in Dalmatia, with a dip into Carinthia. At Gratz, during an evening party given by the Countess Purgstall, he received from Prince Hohenzollern the first news of the battle of Leipzig. He was soon back at Vienna, where he had the good fortune to achieve something like intimacy with the aged patriot the Prince de Ligne, who, in spite of his seventy-six years, and much physical infirmity, had offered his services to his master upon the rupture of the negotiations at Prague. In answer to a sarcastic questioner as to how he came to make so wild an offer, he replied, 'Because I am the only General of my rank whom Napoleon has not defeated.' Hobhouse tells another anecdote of his illustrious acquaintance which strikes us as still better. They were both present at a private dinner where a secretary of the Russian Embassy, on being asked for a toast, gave 'Death to the Emperor Napoleon.' 'Sir,' said the Prince, who was gentleman enough to see the bad taste of this, 'we give healths, not deaths ; and besides, we are not accustomed in this capital to the deaths of Emperors.' The Prince seems to have been much affected at his parting with Hobhouse. 'C'est avec beaucoup de peine que je vous quitte, je ne puis pas vous parler,' said he, and putting a complimentary letter of farewell into his hand, turned away.

From Vienna to Prague, Prague to Dresden, Dresden to Leipzig, Hobhouse went, accumulating from point to point ghastly evidences of the horrors of war. In fact all the way from Frankfort to Holland he was in the thick of the details of contemporary history, always of the most stirring, too often of the most terrible kind. But though he does full justice to the more serious elements in all he saw, he never fails to regain his lighter touch, and in this chapter of his second tour he is as full of anecdote and appreciation of place and scenery as ever. Having enjoyed the sights of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, and the Hague, he sailed from one of the Dutch ports, and reached England, after an absence of eight months, some time in February 1814, to find his father 'as glad to see him as a man of fifty-six is to see anything'!

His 'Recollections' of the first three months of 1814 are sprightly and full. Once again, in April, he tried to get Byron to go abroad with him, but once more, and unhappily, he failed. It was not that the friends were slipping apart; they were as intimate as ever; for upon March 21 he makes this entry:

'Lord Byron, whom I love more and more every day, not so much from his fame as from his fondness—I think not equivocal—for me.'

It was because Byron was deep in the mire of passion and intrigue that, after breaking a promise to go, he let Hobhouse start for Paris without him. The latter took Mr Henry Grattan by way of a companion. He enjoyed the Louvre Museum, and the playing at the Français of 'Orestes' by Talma, and of 'Hermione' by Mademoiselle Georges. He preferred the man to the lady, although he objects to his declamation. He liked the Champs Élysées even less than Talma's declamation. He makes a note of the likeness between Napoleon and Claudius; he had not yet seen the Vatican galleries, or he would have carried the parallel of facial type between the Bonapartist and Cæsarean families much further.

His historical sketches of Paris at the moment of the first Bourbon restoration make the chief charm of the chapter in which they are found. Light as they are, the faintest of aquarelle, they are still precise and clear, and

vigorous as they are delicate. He insists that, 'amidst all the sights and ceremonies of these surprising days, the fallen conqueror, though unseen, was not forgotten.' Rumours of his attack by a dangerous if not a fatal illness were rife; the story of his attempt at self-destruction was first asserted, then discredited, and at last stoutly denied. We know now that it was actually true. Hobhouse went to St Denys, was shown the place where the body of Henri Quatre had been discovered, and the exact corner in the same vault of which Napoleon in 1811 had said to the sacristan, who was then conducting the two English visitors round the cathedral, 'C'est ici que j'ai fixé ma sépulture.' He had even gone the length of having the chosen corner painted a light yellow and dotted over with Bees, which were already half-effaced by damp. He is better off at the 'Invalides'!

Hobhouse quotes Dr Woolstan as authority for the statement that when Marshals Macdonald and Ney came back to Fontainebleau charged with the refusal of the Emperor Alexander to treat with Napoleon, they found him reviewing thirty-six thousand troops, and were for delivering their message secretly. 'Speak out,' said their master, 'there is nothing you can say that should not be heard by *ces braves*.' On hearing this answer the troops offered to march with him upon Paris, and Napoleon at first accepted their offer. The marshals, however, told him that he would find himself faced by 130,000 men, and that it would cost 40,000 lives to force a way through. 'I see it,' admitted Napoleon, and the fateful departure southward was made. He was protected by a bodyguard of his own soldiers as far as Rouen; but from Rouen onward, where these left him, he was ill-received, hissed, and loaded with abuse. More than once he was in danger of his life, and had to submit to disguises. He even condescended to set a white cockade in his hat, and to cry at intervals, 'Vive le Roy.' At one town the mob endeavoured to seize him and pull him to pieces, but the general in whose charge he was said, 'My friends, let him live; death will not be a sufficient punishment for his crimes.' Napoleon turned to him with, 'General, I have heard and understood you; I thank you.' If his custodian were an Englishman—of which we are left unaware—let us hope that his speech was a *ruse*, and that the magnani-

mous rejoinder was not undeserved. Through undeniable peril he and his escort arrived at Fréjus, which he had not visited since he landed there on his return from Egypt. Thence, with some five hundred men of his Old Guard, he embarked for Elba, where he was cordially welcomed. 'Believe me,' he had said to the Comte de Flahaut, when taking leave of him at Fontainebleau, 'I had rather be master of Elba than of a diminished France'; and we ourselves agree with Hobhouse in believing him; witness his rejection of the proposals of Prague.

Hobhouse quotes largely from his own book of 'The Last Reign' to enrich these 'Recollections' with an account of the great exile's life on the island. His principal authorities are Captain Usher of the 'Undaunted,' who had him in charge during his voyage, Colonel Campbell, who attended upon him at Elba, and a Mr Macnamara, a friend of Hobhouse, who threw himself in the Emperor's way, and, if he be to be believed, had a conversation with him of some hours, during which Napoleon permitted, and indeed invited, a very impertinent cross-examination upon many of the most debatable incidents of his life. This account, if only it be true, abounds in curious detail of explanation and self-defence; but Hobhouse is careful to say of it that he only tells the tale as it was told to him, but that he does not believe that his old friend, 'though a very cool hand,' was untruthful.

His diary, on March 11, 1815, has this remarkable entry:

'Lord Cochrane has escaped from prison; Buonaparte has escaped from Elba. . . . From the first I feel sure of Napoleon's success.'

His prognostic was right, in the sense that Napoleon regained his army, his capital, and his throne, and once more enabled France under his captaincy to confront the world in arms. He devotes some hundred and twenty pages to a summary of the Hundred Days. This may strike lovers of consecutive narrative as disjointed and fragmentary, but it must be remembered that these 'Recollections' are nearer to being a diary than a book, and that the book for which such critics ask had already been written by the author of them. Lord Rosebery

thinks that the two volumes of 'The Last Reign' might be boiled down into a single good one; for ourselves, we have lately re-read the longer work, and we feel by no means sure that it needs serious compression. The discursive essays on liberty, constitutional government, the policy of Pitt and Castlereagh, the personal characters of the French royal family, and the possibility in 1815 of a fresh start by Napoleon upon a nobler path of peace and domestic reform, certainly stay the action of the drama, but they are well written, and disclose an honourable and enlightened mind. Considering the reactionary epoch in which they appeared, they are very remarkable.

Full of enthusiasm for the man who was one of his two idols, he made a somewhat adventurous journey to Paris, for the purpose of seeing him. His pilgrimage was rewarded; he actually stood, and that for no mere moment, but during a succession of exciting intervals, close by him against whom all Europe was rising, while he reviewed the veterans who were to support his supreme effort to stem that reactionary tide which was destined to overwhelm both him and them.

Hobhouse remained in Paris until June 16, when he started with a passport for Geneva. He was turned back at Morez, and retraced his steps to Bourg, where several of his most interesting letters of 1815 were written; and before the end of the same month he was once more at Paris. There he stayed till July 20, when, all being over, he started for England.

Interesting as is the earlier part of Lord Broughton's second volume, we propose to pass at once to the last long chapter in which he deals elaborately, and, as we think, finally, with that saddest of all matrimonial catastrophes the separation of Lord and Lady Byron. Seldom have two such lives been mutually wrecked; seldom has such a wreck been more complete; seldom, if we regard its effect upon Lord Byron's genius, character, and destiny, has a similar event been more disastrous to mankind. Splendid as is the literary heritage which he has bequeathed to us, but for this overthrow, and the moral breakdown which followed it, that heritage might have been at once more health-giving, and more splendid still. The story of his connexion with Miss Milbanke is well known, but it may be so briefly stated that it is worth

repetition. He met her in 1812, and, after a short acquaintance, proposed to her. She refused him; wisely, no doubt, had her refusal been final. But this she probably did not intend it to be. She began a correspondence with him immediately afterwards, and this she continued until the successful renewal of Lord Byron's offer in the autumn of 1814. They married on the 2nd of January, 1815; had a child born to them on December 11 in that year; on the 15th of January, 1816, Lady Byron with her child went on a visit to her parents at Kirkby Mallory; and on the 2nd of February Lord Byron received a formal letter from her father demanding a separation from her upon terms to be settled by private arbitration. Such terms were eventually arranged, and carried out by deed in April 1816. Lord Byron forthwith left England for ever. Such is the skeleton; now for the scandal that has been draped on it.

Lady Byron having for some time persistently based her demand personally, and through her parents, friends, and legal adviser, upon Lord Byron's general behaviour to her during her married life, his violence, his cruelty, his commonplace infidelities, his opinions, and the absolute incompatibility of their temperament and character, suddenly changed her ground. She then avowed confidentially to her lawyer, Dr Lushington, and to one or two other friends whom she had consulted, and whom she rightly thought disposed to advise a reconciliation with her husband, that, over and above the reasons which we have recapitulated, there was another, namely, that she suspected him of having been guilty of incest with his half-sister, Augusta Leigh. Of this dreadful accusation thus secretly made she did not, even to those to whom she confided it, adduce one tittle of evidence. We should say that it was her own independent fabrication, but for one reason. Among the many cruel and fantastic rumours let loose upon society about Lord Byron, as about Shelley, this hideous falsehood had had a momentary and limited circulation. It is known to have been started, in tigress-like revenge, by a certain lady of quality, who was a discarded mistress of Lord Byron. It was plainly employed by Lady Byron for the purpose of stiffening the attitude of her advisers. Mr Edgecumbe—to whose book we henceforth refer no less gratefully than to Lord

Broughton's—thinks that at this moment Lady Byron had further been alarmed by a suggestion that, unless she could hurry through a separation, Lord Byron might either kidnap or, by legal process, obtain possession of her infant child. But even if this last incentive be not superadded, it is obvious that what she whispered into the ears of Dr Lushington was, though bred of another's rancour, adopted of her own design; and that it was never hinted by her to anybody till long after her true reasons had been carefully formulated, nor until she feared that they might prove insufficient. The new insinuation was effectual. Her group of advisers took note of it, and, although they would not allow her to make it any part of her case, they desisted from their suggestions of compromise.

On the 14th of March 1816, these 'suspicions' of Lady Byron were reduced to writing in the form of a statement said to have been made by her at Dr Lushington's request, and certainly settled by himself. It opens thus:

'During the year that Lady Byron lived under the same roof with Lord Byron, certain circumstances occurred, and some intimations were made, which excited a suspicion in Lady B.'s mind that an improper connection had at one time, and might even still, subsist (sic) between Lord B. and Mrs L——.'

The document goes on to admit that Lady Byron's suspicions were not based on any proof; proceeds to say that it does not pretend to contain any grounds which gave rise to those suspicions; and ends by acquitting her of anything dishonourable in not having acted upon them. It was signed by Mr Wilmot, Colonel Doyle, and Dr Lushington. It is pretty clear that Dr Lushington never heard of these suspicions till the 22nd of February. Up to that date he, like everybody else concerned, had been under the impression that her husband's general conduct and the conditions of her life with him were the true causes of her resolve. We do not shrink from declaring our strong belief that the disclosure of these suspicions—said in the statement to have existed through her married life, that is, before any outside rumours had come into existence—was a false pretence, designedly advanced with the object already mentioned.

Scorn as well as candour underlies Hobhouse's dealing

with this abominable topic. That he does so conclusively all impartial readers will, we think, acknowledge. We propose to transcribe from him and from Mr Edgecumbe the salient points which make for the impossibility of the charge, and, so far as may be, we shall take things in their chronological order.

Mrs Leigh was married in 1807, when Byron was nineteen years old and she at least twenty-four. No one has ever suggested, not even the late Lord Lovelace, his grandfather's worst traducer, that anything could have happened before her marriage. The truth is that the brother and sister had been brought up entirely apart, Byron with his mother in Scotland, Augusta by her grandmother, Lady Holderness. For some time Mrs Leigh's marriage was happy, and she had three or four children in rapid succession. Meanwhile Byron went to Cambridge in 1805, and kept terms there, somewhat intermittently, till 1808. In June 1809 he went abroad, and only returned to England in July 1811. Even during this year he did not see his sister. He went to Newstead from London in August, at the time of his mother's death, and, while there, he writes thus to his sister for the first time since his return, much as to a comparative stranger (the italics are ours):

'I am losing my relatives, you are adding to yours; but which is best God knows. *I hear* that you have been increasing his Majesty's subjects, which in these times of war and tribulation is really patriotic.

I believe you know that for upwards of two years I have been wandering round the Archipelago.

I shall soon go abroad again, for I am heartily sick of your climate and everything it rains upon, always save and except yourself, *as in duty bound*.

I should be glad to see you here, *as I believe you have never seen the place*.

By-the-bye, I shall marry if I can find anything inclined to barter money for rank within six months, after which I shall return to my friends the Turks.

In the interim I am, Dear Madam' (signature erased).

In a letter dated the 2nd of September, Augusta asks if he is likely to be staying long at Newstead, hopes that he will visit her at Six Mile Bottom, says that their cousin had told her that he had grown very thin (which shows

that she had not seen him since he went abroad), says further that she shall be daily expecting to hear of a Lady Byron, and signs herself 'Your most affect^d Sis. and Friend, A. L.' Mrs Leigh did not go to Newstead, and Byron, after a visit to Cambridge, was back in London by the end of September. He was very soon in the mire of his *liaison* with Lady Caroline Lamb, and from that time to March 26, 1813, there is not apparently a single letter extant between the brother and sister. On this date a letter from Byron marks the renewal of their long intermitted correspondence. It is obviously an answer to one from his sister asking for money. Her husband's irregularities had seriously embarrassed him. Byron starts by regretting that he cannot at the moment help her, and tells her why. His reason is that he had been vainly trying to sell Newstead, and her ignorance of this shows how little she had heard or seen of him. He adds (once more the italics are ours):

'I am going abroad again in June, but should wish to see you before my departure. *You have perhaps heard that I have been fooling away my time with different "regnantes," but what better can be expected from me? I have but one relative, [herself] and her I never see.* I have no connections to domesticate with, and for marriage I have neither the talent nor the inclination. . . . My parliamentary schemes are not much to my taste. *I spoke twice last session, and was told it was well enough.* . . . On Sunday I set off with the Oxfords. I see you put on a demure look at the name; but I am quite out of a more serious scrape with another singular personage which threatened me last year. . . .

'I am a fool, and deserve all the ills I have met, or may meet with, but nevertheless, *very sensibly*, dearest Augusta,

'Your most affectionate brother,

'BYRON.'

Could such a letter have passed from one to the other of two persons whose relations were so hideous as those suggested for this brother and sister? On the contrary, does it not show what strangers they still were? Besides, it must be remembered that the year 1812-13 had been occupied in the two great scrapes to which he alludes, between which his first proposal to Miss Milbanke had come as a respectable interlude.

Two letters follow, but not before June 26, 1813, and they are equally commonplace in tone and subject. After this he remained silent for so long that his sister thought she must have offended him, and he accordingly wrote to her on October 10, 1813 to assure her that she was mistaken, and that his silence was owing to circumstances which he could not then detail. On November 8, 1813, he writes again :

'I have only time to say that I shall write to-morrow, and that my present and long silence has been occasioned by a thousand things with which you are not concerned. It is not L., C., nor O.; but perhaps you may guess, and if you do, do not tell. . . .

'*You do not know what mischief your being with me might have prevented.* You shall hear from me to-morrow; in the meantime don't be alarmed. I am in no immediate peril.'

The italics again are ours.

That he had been engaged upon the perpetration of some act during that year which even he deplored, the letter which we have just quoted plainly shows. But, whatever it was, it is clear that it was not the seduction of his sister. Mr Edgecumbe insists, and there is much to be said for his contention, which we will discuss presently, that the victim was his early love, Mary Chaworth. During the summer, autumn, and winter of 1813 he vibrated between London and Newstead, and his intermittent letters to his sister, bearing dates in the last four months of the year, show that he had seen little or nothing of her, and heard almost as little. He was at Newstead by the third week of January 1814. On the 12th he had again invited his sister to visit him, and the form of invitation, especially the words we have italicised, show that she had never been there before.

'On Sunday or Monday next, with the leave of your Lord and President, you will be well and ready to accompany me to Newstead, *which you should see*, and which I will endeavour to render as comfortable as I can for both our sakes.'

She came with her children, and stayed with him from about January 17, 1814, to the middle or end of the first week in February. On the 4th of February, he writes to John Murray: 'Mrs Leigh is with me—*much pleased with*

the place,' another phrase which shows that it was her first visit. He returned to London on the 9th of February. There is no published letter from him to his sister, though others had probably passed, until one of May 9, 1814, which consists of four lines referring to a loan or gift from him to meet the difficulties of her extravagant husband. Another followed upon the same subject on the 24th of June. Mrs Leigh had had a child born on April 15, 1814, called Medora, after the heroine of 'The Corsair,' and whom a latter-day hallucination of Lady Byron, ignorant or reckless of all these dates and circumstances, prompted her to call, some five-and-twenty years afterwards, the daughter of Augusta and Lord Byron! Early in the autumn of 1814 Mrs Leigh and her children again spent some time at Newstead, and Byron paid a return visit to Six Mile Bottom. While there he made his second proposal of marriage to Miss Milbanke, and was accepted. Is it not obvious that Byron's action was taken, not only with the goodwill and good wishes, but also upon the urgent advice of his loving hostess?

We have given above a plain narrative of events, unforced, uncoloured, which leave absolutely no room for the infamous scandal which chronology, unassisted, would be enough to refute. But more remains.

The Byrons passed the period of their married life together partly at Seaham, partly at Halmaby, and partly at No. 13 Piccadilly Terrace. In March they paid a visit of a fortnight to Mrs Leigh at Six Mile Bottom, and at the beginning of April Mrs Leigh came and stayed no less than ten weeks with them in Piccadilly. A letter is extant written after the conclusion of this visit, expressing Lady Byron's sorrow at losing her sister-in-law—whose return to her home duties she admits was inevitable—and her comfort in looking forward to having her back later on. On November 15 Mrs Leigh did return to Piccadilly at Lady Byron's request, and remained to give companionship and comfort to her sister-in-law during her confinement.

There can be little doubt that towards the end of 1815 Byron's conduct became deplorable. What with his obvious discontent with the restraints of marriage, and the state of irritation reaching almost to madness into which his financial difficulties threw him, he was

no fit companion for anybody. His wife and his sister were afraid of his outbreaks of violence and rage; and Lady Byron admitted gratefully that she looked upon Augusta's presence as her one consolation and safeguard. We only dwell upon all this, and upon Mrs Leigh's two long visits, in order to point the question, How could it be true that '*during the year she had passed under the same roof with Lord Byron*'—to quote again the words of the statement of March 14, 1816—Lady Byron had suspected Mrs Leigh? Can anybody conceive that in such a case she would have hailed her back to her bedside? Is there any means of avoiding the conclusion that the charge was, as we insist, a dishonest afterthought?

As a fabrication it was not hardier than the deception which she played upon her husband on leaving him. She left Piccadilly more than five weeks after the birth of her child. There was every reason why she should go; the house, disturbed by execution after execution, was no place for a young mother. But there was no pretence for saying that she and her husband had parted on bad terms. Byron insisted, and Hobhouse believed him, that they had lived in the closest possible conjugal relations up to the very day of her departure. On her way she rested at Woburn, whence she sent back a letter which began thus:

'DEAREST B.,—We arrived here safely—the child is the best of travellers. Now do leave off the abominable trade of versifying, and brandy, everything which is nau—'

The rest of the letter is lost, but it is hardly presumptuous to fill in the rest of that imperfect last word. It is known to have reference to a late infidelity, which he had confessed, and she had pardoned. The very next day she sent a far more loving and playful letter upon her arrival at Kirkby.

'DEAREST DUCK,—We got here quite well last night, and were ushered into the kitchen instead of the drawing-room by a mistake that might have been agreeable enough to hungry people. . . . Of this and other incidents Dad wants to write you a jocose account, and both he and Mam long to have the family party completed. . . . Such . . .! and such a *sitting-room* or *sulking-room*, all to yourself. If I were not always looking for B—— I should be a great deal better

already for country air. *Miss* finds her provisions increased, and fattens thereon. It is a good thing she cannot understand all the flattery bestowed upon her. "Little Angel" . . . and I know not what. . . Love to the good goose, and everybody's love to you both from hence.

'Ever thy most loving

'PIPPIN . . . PIP . . . IP.'

For 'goose' read Augusta. What! Love to the woman whom for a year past she had been suspecting of incest, and that with the man to whom she was writing! Incredible.

It is hard to believe that during the very week which followed the date of this epistle Lady Noel and her *âme damnée* Mrs Clermont had been in London seeing lawyers, and taking other steps 'to provide means,' as Hobhouse puts it, to procure a separation between Lord Byron and his wife. What had happened at Kirkby we shall never know. It is possible that Lady Byron was nettled at her husband's silence—for he never answered the 'Dearest Duck' letter—and that she went off in a pet to her mother with a string of tales about Byron's sulkings, violence, opinions, and general irregularities at Drury Lane and elsewhere. It is even possible that such a revelation synchronised with a conviction of Lady Noel's that it would be convenient to get rid of Lord Byron, the burden of settlements on the Wentworth estate, and the financial difficulties arising from the non-sale of Newstead and Rochdale, at one swoop. Sir James Bland Burges, one of Lady Noel's nearest relatives, and a trustee of her estate, confided and 'confirmed this suspicion [to Hobhouse] by the communication of many particulars, and his general impression as to the [then] present owner of the Noel property.' On the 3rd of February, little more than a fortnight after he had received the 'Dearest Duck' epistle, with its fun, its loving intimacy, its invitation to Kirkby from everybody there, the promise of a 'jocose letter from Dad,' and all the rest of it, came a formal missive from Sir Ralph, of which it is only necessary to quote the first paragraph; the italics are ours.

'MY LORD,—However painful it may be to me, I find myself compelled by every feeling as a parent, and principle as a

man, to address your Lordship on a subject which I hardly suppose will be any surprise to you. *Very recently*, circumstances have come to my knowledge which convince me that *with your opinions it cannot tend to your happiness to continue to live with Lady Byron, and I am yet more forcibly convinced that after her dismissal from your house and the treatment she experienced whilst in it, those, on whose protection she has the strongest natural claims, could not feel justified in permitting her return thither.*

Byron answered this startling letter by return of post. His reply was temperate and dignified. He repudiated his wife's dismissal, and declared that they had parted in perfect amity; though he admitted that he had been gloomy, and at times violent, he urged that of these moods his wife knew the causes too well to attribute them either to himself or to his feelings towards her. He finally appeals from her parents to herself, and declares that his determination shall depend on hers. On the same day he wrote to Lady Byron herself, 'asking,' says Hobhouse, 'in affectionate terms for an explanation of Sir Ralph's letter.' As she did not answer, he wrote again on the 5th of February as follows:

'DEAREST BELL,—No answer from you yet; but perhaps it is as well; only do recollect that all is at stake, the present, the future, even the colouring of the past. My errors, or by whatever name you choose to call them, you know; but I loved you, and will not part from you without your express and expressed refusal to return to or to receive me.

* * * * *

'Ever, dearest, yours most, etc., B.'

He followed up this on the 7th of February with another appeal to Sir Ralph, explicit, dignified, full, earnest, and genuine. And on the 8th he made another effort with his wife. We give from this letter a few scattered phrases, selected to illustrate its tone:

'All I can say seems useless, and all I could say might be no less unavailing, yet I cling to the wreck of my hopes. . . Were you then never happy with me? . . . Have no marks of affection passed between us? Or did in fact hardly a day go down without some such on one side, generally on both?

* * * * *

'Had I not acknowledged to you all my faults and follies? . . .

I do not require these questions to be answered to me, but to your own heart * * * * Will you see me?—when and where you please—in whose presence you please * * * * It is torture to correspond thus * * * * You are much changed within these twenty days, or you would never have thus poisoned your own better feelings and trampled on mine.

‘Ever yours most truly and affect^{ly}.’

And yet again, on the 15th of February, he wrote :

‘I know not what to say, every step taken appears to bear you further from me, and to widen the gulf between thee and me. I have invited your return; it has been refused. I have requested to know with what I am charged, it is refused. . . . And now, Bell, dearest Bell, I can only say in the truth of affliction . . . that I love you . . . and shall do, to the dregs of my memory and existence.’

Through all his correspondence at that time with his wife and her father, of which we have given but imperfect extracts, he had the concurrence and support of his sister. May we not ask whether the most case-hardened villain would have dared to indite such appeals, if guilty, when he knew that he laid himself open to a direct and crushing retort? And, however far the man might have dared to go, would the woman in such a case have encouraged or allowed him to run the risk?

It is impossible here to follow minutely the course of the ensuing negotiations. During their progress rumours reached Byron and his friends which made them insist upon knowing whether this infamous insinuation formed any part of his wife's charges against him; and it was not until it had been formally disavowed in a document dated March 9, 1816, signed by Lady Byron and witnessed by Mr Wilmot, her relative and representative, that Byron consented to the principle of a separation.

In the meantime every line written by Lady Byron gives directly or indirectly the lie to her subsequent affectation of belief. By way of illustration, we take some extracts from letters written by her to Augusta during January and February 1816, the italics being again ours.

‘KIRKBY MALLORY.

‘MY DEAREST A.,—It is my greatest comfort that you are in Piccadilly.’

KIRKBY MALLORY.

'Jan. 23, 1816.

'DEAREST A.,—I know you feel for me, as I do for you, and perhaps I am better understood than I think. *You have been, ever since I knew you, my best comforter, and will so remain, unless you grow tired of the Office, which may well be.*

'January 25, 1816.

'MY DEAREST AUGUSTA,—Shall I still be your sister? I must resign my rights to be so considered; but I don't think that *will make any difference in the kindness I have so uniformly experienced from you.*

It is necessary to give the following letter in full; it is dated February 3, 1816:

'MY DEAREST AUGUSTA,—You are desired by your brother to ask if my father has acted with my concurrence in proposing a separation. He has. It cannot be supposed that in my present distressing situation I am capable of stating in a detailed manner the reasons which not only justify this measure, but compel me to take it; and it can never be my wish to remember unnecessarily those injuries for which, however deep, I feel no resentment. I will now only recall to Lord Byron's mind his avowed and insurmountable aversion to the married state, and the desire and determination he has expressed ever since its commencement to free himself from that bondage, as finding it quite insupportable—though candidly acknowledging that no effort of duty or affection has been wanting on my part. He has too painfully convinced me that all those attempts to contribute towards his happiness were wholly useless and most unwelcome to him.

'Ever yours most affectionately,

'A. J. BYRON.'

She followed up this, next day, with a request that Augusta would show it to her brother, as it was very important that, in view of a letter which he had written to her, he should know its contents. Three days afterwards, in answer to one of the loving and imploring letters from Byron to which we have already referred, she writes referring him to this last letter to Augusta for 'fuller particulars.' She upbraids him for his persistent ill-treatment, and adds,

'*After seriously and dispassionately reviewing the misery I have experienced, almost without an interval, from the day*

of my marriage, I have finally determined on the measure of a separation.'

These italics are once more our own. Will any sane person dream that if incest had been the moving cause she would have written a string of other reasons to the supposed partner of her husband's guilt? Would she have referred her husband to that person and to that letter for fuller particulars? Moreover, is incest, if only seriously suspected—we do not say proved—a cause which demands 'serious and dispassionate review' before acting on it? On the other hand, such words are applicable to the string of reasons in the letter to Augusta. In this connexion it is also worth while to quote a phrase in a letter she wrote to Hobhouse declining an interview for which he had asked :

'You must be ignorant of the long series of circumstances which have necessitated this afflicting step.'

Hitherto we have used Lord Broughton's 'Recollections' and Mr Edgcumbe's book indiscriminately for materials in support of Mrs Leigh's innocence. But Mr Edgcumbe is not content with her acquittal. He is persuaded that she sacrificed her own reputation to shield her brother and Mary Anne Chaworth from the consequences of a criminal intrigue. His theory may be stated thus. Miss Chaworth in 1805 married Mr Musters, and became Mrs Chaworth-Musters, having rejected her boy lover in favour of his more mature and by no means ineligible rival. Byron and she did not meet again until late in the year 1808. Mr Musters had shown some jealousy of Byron even before the marriage, and resented all approach to intimacy in 1808. In 1811 there was something like a recrudescence of friendship, which once more Mr Musters cut short. In 1813, however, the position of both had become dangerous, Byron's moral character had degenerated, and was perhaps additionally disturbed by the rejection of his first proposal to Miss Milbanke. As to Mary, the infidelities of her husband had become so intolerable that she had left him. She was living alone at Annesley, an estate of her own, close by Newstead. Byron too, during the early summer, was alone at Newstead, and Mary wrote asking him to go and see her. A lingering sense of

honour towards the companion of his boyhood prompted him to hesitate. He wrote to Augusta and asked her advice, which she gave in behalf of rectitude and prudence. There seems no doubt, however, that he went, and not much that events followed the course which in such circumstances may almost be called natural. He practically admitted the result to Medwin, who thus records his avowal :

'She was the *beau ideal* of all that my youthful fancy could paint of beautiful ; and I have taken all my fables about the celestial nature of women from the perfection my imagination created in her—I say "created," for I found her, like the rest of her sex, anything but angelic.'

In August 1813 Byron wrote to Moore from Newstead :

'I am at this moment in a far more serious and entirely new scrape, than any (sic) of the last twelve months, and that is saying a good deal.'

A week later he wrote again :

'I would incorporate with any woman of decent demeanour to-morrow—that is, I would a month ago, but at present. . . '

In his journal, upon November 24, we find this :

'I am tremendously in arrear with my letters except to * * * *, and to her my thoughts overpower me ; my words never compass them.'

It is not difficult to find four letters for these four asterisks ; especially as four days later we find this even more tell-tale entry :

'I believe with Clym o' the Clow or Robin Hood,

"By our Mary (dear name!) thou art both Mother and May ;
I think it never was a man's lot to die before his day."

On November the 8th, after a solitary month at Newstead, he wrote the letter to Augusta, already quoted, containing the words :

'You do not know what mischief your being with me might have prevented.'

On November 30 he writes to Moore, who had been living that autumn in Nottinghamshire :

'We were very near neighbours this autumn, and a good and bad neighbourhood it has proved to me.'

In his journal, on November 14, there is this entry :

'Last night I finished "Zuleika." . . . I believe the composition of it kept me alive—for it was written to drive my thoughts from the recollection of * * * * [again the four asterisks]. Dear sacred name, rest for ever unrevealed ! At least even here my hand would tremble to write it. . . .'

Again he makes his journal speak :

'* * * * is distant and will be at * * * *, more distant still, till the spring. No one else, except Augusta, cares for me. . . .'

And again, on December 10, he writes :

'I would commit suicide, if it would not annoy Augusta, and perhaps * * * *'

Is this, then, not clear that during 1813 he enacted a great moral tragedy, that the *locale* of it was in the neighbourhood of Newstead, and that its heroine was not Augusta but 'some one else' ? Who else could it have been, if not Mary ?

About this time he feared that a letter of his to Mary had miscarried. He writes to Moore on the 6th of January to tell him this, and to warn him that he may have to fight a duel with her husband. But the next day he had heard from Mary ; the letter was safe, and he accordingly wrote Moore to reassure him :

'My last epistle would probably put you in a fidget. But the devil, who ought to be civil on such occasions, proved so, and took my letter to the right place.'

Here is Mary's letter, undated, but obviously in answer to the one which he feared had been lost :

'Your kind letter, my dear friend, relieved me much, and came yesterday when I was by no means well, and was a most agreeable remedy, for *I fancied a thousand things*. . . . I shall set great value by your seal, and see no reason why you should not call on us and bring it. . . . We [herself and Miss Radford, her companion] return to Annesley to-morrow. . . . *We are very anxious to see you, and yet know not how we shall feel on the occasion—formal I dare say at the first, but our meeting must be confined to our trio, and then I think we shall be more at our ease*. Do write me, and make a sacrifice to friendship, which I shall consider your visit ; you may always address your letters to Annesley perfectly safe. Your sincere friend,

'MARY——.'

Augusta had evidently been made his *confidante*, for he writes to her :

‘M—— has written again—all friendship—and really very simple and pathetic—bad usage—paleness—ill-health—old friendship—once—good motives—virtue—and so forth.’

And a few days later he writes begging her to come to Newstead, ‘*which she had never seen*,’ and winds up his letter with this phrase :

‘More news from Mrs [Chaworth-Musters]—all friendship; you shall see her.’

Mary had already repented, had recoiled from her criminal *liaison*, and made that resolve of reformation which none of Byron’s entreaties could induce her to break. Hence her and his references to the ‘friendship’ of which these last letters are so full.

A number of Byron’s most passionate lyrics burst from him at this time. They were pretty obviously all addressed to Mary. Such as that which begins :

‘Farewell, if ever fondest prayer.’

Probably, though less certainly, this :

‘There is no more for me to hope,
There is no more for thee to fear’;
* * * * *

which seems to allude directly to the fact that their episode of criminality was over, and that her secret was safe. Also the well-known stanzas beginning :

‘I speak not, I trace not, I breathe not thy name—
There is grief in the sound, there is guilt in the fame.’

And lastly, quite as direct, and still more sad :

‘When we two parted
In silence and tears
Half broken-hearted
To sever for years,
Pale grew thy cheek and cold,
Colder thy kiss;
Truly that hour foretold
Sorrow to this.’

His verses written to Augusta, which run parallel with all these, are of a totally different order; they breathe

nothing but brotherly love and devotion, with enthusiastic gratitude for her sisterly support and constancy through all his follies and their resulting troubles.

The strain of two terrible years bore an equally terrible fruit. Shortly after the final farewell which she and Byron took of one another in the third week of April 1816, Mary's mind gave way. She recovered, and was at last reconciled to her husband in 1817.

In 1819 Byron wrote a letter from Venice, dated May 17, 1819, obviously to Mary. He sent it through Mr Murray, under cover to Augusta, who very wisely never delivered it. With equal unwisdom, after having erased the address, the name of the correspondent and the signature—which, on the assumption that it was addressed to her, and that she had confessed, or was about to confess, was altogether unnecessary—she sent it to Lady Byron, with whom she was still on most affectionate terms, asking her how she could best deal with it in the interest of 'the unfortunate being to whom it was addressed.' Lady Byron jumped to the conclusion that it had been written to Augusta herself, and Augusta, still over-anxious, perhaps, to shield Mary, and not stopping to forecast the possible cost to herself, would seem to have left her to her mistake. The letter remains to speak for itself, and it obviously applies perfectly to Mary, and is as obviously inapplicable to Augusta. A few extracts will suffice to designate Byron's real correspondent. It begins with a confession of negligence in not having written, but says by way of apology that three years' absence, and total change of scene and habit, have left her and him nothing in common but their affections and relationship. Mary and Byron were cousins. The writer then protests:

'I have never ceased nor can cease to feel for a moment that perfect and boundless attachment which bound and binds me to you. . . .

'My own * * * * (here was a short name which had been carefully erased, and which even Lord Lovelace admits to have consisted only of three or four letters), we may have been very wrong, but I repent of nothing, save that cursed marriage, and your refusing to continue to love me as you had loved me. I can neither forget nor quite forgive you for that precious piece of reformation . . . and whenever I love

anything it is because it reminds me in some way or other of yourself. For instance, I not long ago attached myself to a Venetian for no earthly reason but because she was called * * * *, and she often remarked, without knowing the reason, how fond I was of the name.'

Again there is the erasure of a four-letter name, and Mr Edgcumbe reminds us that the Venetian was called Marianna, *Anglicè*, Mary Anne, which were the two Christian names of Mrs Chaworth-Musters. The writer goes on to declare that the thought of their separation is heart-breaking, and that Paolo and Francesca were more leniently treated in hell; he insists that her reformation tortured him; asks her if she recollects their parting; begs her to write not of commonplace people and topics, but of herself, and to say that she loves him; and winds up by protesting that his passion grows and will grow till it annihilates all thoughts, hopes, and feelings that do not refer to her and their recollections.

Everything worth noting in this letter precludes the idea of its having been written to Augusta, whose name was all but twice as long as 'Mary,' to whom the suggestion about the Venetian woman's name would have been meaningless, and from whom he had heard repeatedly, and to whom he had written, says Mr Edgcumbe, twice a month on an average since he left England! We will contrast this outpouring of despairing passion with some extracts from letters really written to his sister in the first three years of his exile. The first is from one written on June 3, 1817:

'For the life of me I cannot make out whether your disorder is a broken heart or earache—or whether it is you who have been ill or the children—or what your melancholy apprehensions tend to—or refer to—whether to Caroline Lamb's Novels—Mrs Clermont's evidence—Lady Byron's magnanimity, or any other piece of imposture.'

The second was written about six months after the letter of May 17, 1819; so far as we need quote it, it runs thus:

'DEAREST AUGUSTA,—The health of my daughter Allegra, the cold season and the length of the journey induce me to postpone for some time a purpose (never very willing on my part) to revisit Great Britain.

'You can address me to Venice as usual. Wherever I may be in Italy, the letter will be forwarded. . . .

'I wrote to you not very long ago, and as I don't know that I can add anything satisfactory to that letter, I may as well finish this. In a letter to Murray I requested him to apprise you that my journey was postponed; but here, there, and everywhere, know me, yours ever and very truly,

'B.'

Can anything be more ordinary, easy, brotherly, and genuine, or freer from fiery passion and tearful reminiscence?

How Augusta could have played so fatuously upon Lady Byron, as she undoubtedly did, in regard to the letter of the 17th of May 1819, and during the correspondence which arose upon it, is one marvel. How Lady Byron could have spread the falsehood of a confession by Augusta to herself, which, if actual, would have been in the highest degree confidential, is a second. How these two women, in the circumstances, could have remained 'Dearest A.' to one another for eleven years, until 1830, is a third. They quarrelled in that year over the appointment of a new trustee to a marriage settlement, and only met once afterwards, in 1851, in presence of the well-known Brighton clergyman, Mr Frederick Robertson. That meeting was avowedly arranged with the object of bringing Augusta's admission or denial of guilt to a point. Augusta sternly asserted her innocence, and a memorandum of the conversation was drawn up by Mr Robertson. But it was too late; by that time irreparable mischief had been wrought.

Thus far, then, we are in agreement with Mr Edgcumbe. We accept as real poor Mary's tragedy. We adopt the ascription to her of all the verses quoted which ring of remorse and guilt. We feel sure that the letter of May 17, 1819, was addressed to her. The false fatuousness of Augusta in playing upon Lady Byron in regard to it may startle and shock us, but no more. But when Mr Edgcumbe goes on to enunciate a second theory, that Medora Leigh was the child of Byron and Mary, and was acknowledged by Augusta as her own to shield its parents, we respectfully take leave of him. We feel inclined to smile when he asks us to believe that she went through the form of a 'simulated confinement' for this purpose. Mrs Leigh had indeed a child by her own husband in April 1814. The event was generally known,

and anticipated in the ordinary way. Byron himself casually mentions his sister's condition, in a letter written to Mr Hanson, while she was visiting him for the first time in the winter of 1813-1814, as a reason why he could not ask her to leave Newstead, so long as the roads were rough, dangerous, and almost impassable from snow. The whole idea is monstrous, against nature, and would have involved a fatuity far beyond that connected with the letter from Venice. May we further ask what part the husband would have played in the concoction of such an arrangement? The assertion, for it is no more, is unsupported by a tittle of evidence, and is, moreover, gratuitous, and quite unnecessary for Mrs Leigh's acquittal. We leave it with a confession of regret that this one blot should deface an otherwise well-considered and valuable contribution towards the solution of a long-standing mystery. There may even be some who will think that to prove the guilt of poor Mary is a piece of cruel surplusage, but it must be remembered that Mr Edgecumbe's apology for this is the publication of Lord Lovelace's 'Astarte.' The one point in that book which seemed to want a conclusive answer was the letter of May 17, 1819, and the correspondence to which it gave rise. The internal impossibility of its having been written to Mrs Leigh was, indeed, always existent, but the discovery of its real destination is invaluablely conclusive. And if truth does indeed lie in the attribution to Mrs Chaworth-Musters of misconduct which, though sad and reprehensible, is still within the range of condonation, it is something like a consolation that such of us as value the memory of a great genius should be able to repose upon the certainty that at least its possessor was not guilty of a crime which would have put him beyond the pale.

Art. 2.—THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

1. *A Guide to the various classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office.* By S. R. Scargill-Bird. Third edition. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1908.
2. *Studies in English Official Historical Documents.* By Hubert Hall. Cambridge: University Press, 1908.
3. *Bibliothèque de l'École nationale des Chartes.* Paris: Picard, 1835, etc.
4. *Archivalische Zeitschrift.* Munich: Ackermann, 1876, etc.
5. *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France.* By C. V. Langlois and H. Stein. Paris: Picard, 1891.
6. *Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique.* Brussels: Misch et Thron, 1903, etc.
7. *Guide to the Manuscript materials for the History of the United States to 1783 in the British Museum,* etc. By C. M. Andrews and F. G. Davenport. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1908.

THE origins of the national archives occupy such a prominent place in the best modern text-books of historical bibliography that we may fairly assume the existence of a wider interest in the subject than is usually aroused by the perusal of departmental Blue-books. In any one of a round dozen of scholarly monographs we can read the life-history of Domesday Book, and of the almost unbroken series of judicial and ministerial enrolments which illustrate the domestic history and foreign relations of this country. Visitors to the interesting museum erected on the site of the old Rolls Chapel are able to view the iron-bound chests and leather pouches which formed the primitive receptacles of priceless records. There too they may see specimens of ancient charters and writs, under successive devices of the royal seal, or bearing the sign-manuals of well-instructed kings, together with tokens of a wealth of State-papers and historical autographs that could scarcely be matched in any other country.

The romance of the archives has also an archæological interest which is frequently demonstrated by English antiquaries. The ancient palaces of the kings of England were naturally selected as the repositories of records; and we are told that these were as precious

to our sovereigns as the relics and regalia beside which they were deposited. Closely connected with these ancient treasuries of records were the strong-rooms in Westminster Abbey, in the Temple Church, and in the Rolls Chapel itself, which has superseded all other repositories. From a very early date this classic site, commemorated by Matthew Paris and associated, after his time, with a long succession of famous judges and divines, was apparently destined to be the lasting receptacle of the public records. Whether this advantageous position is due, as the latest historian of the archives seems to think, to the central position of the Rolls Chapel mid-way between the fortress of London and the palace and courts of Westminster; or whether its later pre-eminence is due to the departmental change whereby the guardian of converted Jews was transformed into the keeper of the Rolls of Chancery, we need not pause to enquire. In any case, the earliest custody of the public records is marked by many strange vicissitudes and many quaint devices down to the year 1838, when the sixty scattered Record Offices of the metropolis were forced, by the pressure of public opinion, to yield up their contents to the new repository on the Rolls estate.

The history of a younger branch of the national archives, the State-papers, runs a course parallel to that of the legal records, traversing historic scenery that is scarcely less romantic. The evolution of the State Paper Office of the early Victorian period from the king's 'study' at Westminster and the royal library at Whitehall is indeed an instructive change; while the history of the great departmental collections, including those of the royal household, is full of antiquarian and personal interest.

At the same time it must be admitted that a large proportion of this official literature does not make pleasant reading to those who are jealous of national credit. The documentary treasures of which we are justly proud are, after all, the fortunate survivors of a great *débâcle*. We have certainly good reasons for believing that the records preserved to us form by far the more important portion of the entire series; but even the famous Chancery enrolments are incomplete. The total loss that we have suffered in respect of original instruments and detached

documents can scarcely be estimated; and apparently no serious attempt has ever been made to calculate the extent of the deficit in individual series.

It is true that foreign archives have probably suffered more extensive damage than our own; but these losses have been largely the outcome of invasion or civil war, while ours are chiefly due to the inefficiency or apathy of the official custodians. The almost incredible recital of these misdeeds may be perused in the reports of parliamentary committees during the eighteenth century; and the charges have been repeated by modern antiquaries. Some of us will recall the brilliant passages in which the late Prof. Maitland described those shameful scenes; and a fairly comprehensive sketch will be found in the most recent story of the archives. Painful as this story is, it has a moral that must be impressed upon the public conscience. The heritage of the ages must be closely guarded by its official trustees, for moth and rust can corrupt even the treasure of kings. Unfortunately the prerogative of the Crown has for a long time past been impaired in several important particulars. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries legal records and State-papers were removed from official custody with complete impunity. The records of the Assize Courts throughout England have been abandoned since the reign of Edward IV to inadequate local custody; and the bulk of these records have long since perished. Even in the present day State documents are openly sold by booksellers whose title the most zealous official would scarcely venture to question. Besides the outstanding judicial records, there are many others that would be regarded abroad as 'departmental' or 'communal' archives. The fate of these does not immediately concern us here. That it is trembling in the balance was clearly shown by the report of a Treasury committee in 1901; but, as matters stand, we are not entitled to claim more than a small proportion of these 'local records' as official documents.

Such was the treatment of the ancient archives of this country from their earliest inception down to the accession of Queen Victoria. Their primitive but not insecure custody in royal palaces or churches had been exchanged, during the eighteenth century, for emergency

quarters in numerous defective repositories, where the ravages of hungry vermin and the greed of ill-paid officials completed their destruction. Here, moreover, the records were almost as inaccessible to the public as in the days when lions roared and arms clashed within the Tower, or when watchmen in coats of mail stood on guard outside the Treasury at Winchester.

The very fact of the preservation of the earliest records in company with the regalia and the royal treasure is perhaps sufficient evidence that their contents were from the first at the disposal of the Crown. So early as the fourteenth century, however, the right of public access to certain legal records was vindicated in Parliament; and, even in causes in which the Crown was interested, an appeal to such documentary evidence was readily conceded. During the seventeenth century the records were of course regarded from a constitutional point of view as public documents; and this theory has only been affected, in the subsequent period, by the exigencies of their custody. During the eighteenth century, indeed, it was readily conceded that the record-searcher might inspect any document that he was fortunate enough to find, provided that exorbitant official fees were paid for the privilege. The dark scandal of this system has been fully exposed by official writers since the reign of William IV. It would clearly seem to have been the intention of the famous Act of 1838 to put an end to these abuses; but this was not finally accomplished for another twenty years.

There is one more aspect of the ancient records of the Crown which is presented to us both in early treatises and modern handbooks. Their custody is, from the very first, associated with the preparation of official inventories distinguished by well-known symbolic press-marks. The medieval compilations of this nature will naturally appear more curious than helpful to the modern student; and their scope is not extensive, though Palgrave's 'Kalendars' do not include all the lists that are now known to us. The subject of the equipment and functions of the medieval archivist is, however, an interesting one; and it has been too long neglected in this country. With the advent of the printing-press we have indeed a few professional works dealing with the classification of the

documents or describing their contents; but these are wholly inadequate in both respects. After the middle of the eighteenth century, the perfunctory or obscure official index was supplemented by the more pretentious undertakings of the methodisers and Record Commissioners. These unscholarly labours were considerably amended by the permanent official staff at the Rolls House, between the accession of Queen Victoria and her first Jubilee, in the voluminous but disconnected series of the Deputy Keeper's Reports.

In other directions, work of a more ambitious character was accomplished by the last generation of official antiquaries, though much of it has no connexion with the English archives and should never have been undertaken by the Rolls authorities in preference to the elucidation of their own treasures. The famous series of 'Chronicles and Memorials,' published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, is chiefly concerned with literary MSS.; and, in fact, out of the hundred editions comprised in this collection, less than half a dozen deal with actual records in official custody. But, besides this extraneous undertaking, Lord Romilly and his advisers, or their immediate successors, may also be credited with the series of 'Calendars of State Papers,' which, with all its defects of execution, must be regarded as an epoch-making work. Not the least important feature of this edition consists in its inclusion of the Scottish and Irish documents deposited amongst the public records.

The literary relations between the English archives and those of the sister kingdoms and Imperial colonies have formed an occasional subject of discussion in the 'mother of Parliaments'; but they are seldom rightly understood by English scholars. In the case of Scotland, there has existed from very early times a collection of national records which has fortunately survived several wanton acts of spoliation and careless restitution on the part of English conquerors from Edward I to Oliver Cromwell. These records were retained as a national possession under the Act of Union; and they have been published in a national series. In addition to the above-mentioned records, a few stray Scottish 'documents' and State-papers preserved in London, together with numerous English records relating to Scotland, have

also been published in a separate form. Very much the same conditions exist in the case of Ireland, though here, as in Wales, the type of national record is merely a replica of English forms.

We find, therefore, that the bulk of the Scottish and Irish records are preserved in their own national archives, while the documents relating to those countries preserved in London are carefully distinguished in the classification and publication of the English records and State-papers. It is otherwise in the case of Wales. Here many 'documents' that were formerly preserved under the convenient heading 'Wallia' have now been partially absorbed into the English series; and at the present time the 'Welsh documents,' as a class, can scarcely be said to exist. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the great mass of the Welsh records, transferred to London in 1854 from the local repositories, are destined to undergo a similar process of fusion. It does not seem to have occurred to the local authorities in Wales, who reluctantly acquiesced in the transfer of these records to the Rolls repository, and certainly not to Lord Langdale, whose motto, 'Suum cuique,' was no empty profession, that absorption would be the inevitable result of the contact of these hybrid records with the English series. Still less could any one have then foreseen that the time would come when the Principality would possess an imposing university, where the study of the national history and language form parts of the curriculum; or that it could produce an active band of students, deeply learned in the origins and development of their national history, and clamorous for the official recognition and publication of native records on an equal footing with the archives of the United Kingdom.

In his first Report, presented in the year after the passing of the Public Record Office Act of 1838, the then Deputy Keeper, Sir Francis Palgrave, describes his official premises as consisting of certain chambers in the old Rolls House, supplemented by a stable and coach-house in the Rolls Yard, while the Rolls Chapel itself served as a general repository. Fifteen years elapsed before the building of the great repository in Fetter Lane was taken in hand. Since that date the aggrandisement of

the Rolls Office has kept pace with the vast expansion of the Civil Service; and the cost of the English Record establishment during the last ten years has been proportionately greater than that of similar institutions elsewhere. The credit for these material improvements may be assigned to various official agencies, as well as to the intelligent appreciation of record sources by the present generation of historians and antiquaries. It is known that the Treasury at last sanctioned a vast expenditure for the enlargement and embellishment of a repository, the erection of which, however, was unfortunately delayed until countless records had perished from exposure. The Office of Works is now able to set off one admirable design against a long series of unadmired buildings. Moreover, the press, the learned societies, and other academic bodies, by commendation and example, have steadily encouraged this striking development in the establishment of our national archives.

These favourable circumstances, however, would have availed little without the initiative of an administrator of marked ability. The present Deputy Keeper assumed office in 1887 at a time when the archives, as an official department and an educational agency, were confined to a few rooms in the old Rolls House and to the dark and dreary Victorian repository. Many of us who still frequent the Record Office will recall those depressing surroundings—the dingy dwellings of bygone Chancery clerks, and the hideous excrescence known as ‘Judges’ Chambers,’ which blocked the light and greenery of Clifford’s Inn. In the Rolls House itself official existence must have been sufficiently depressing; but here there was at least the use of artificial light, which was banished from the ill-heated and unventilated search-rooms. In other respects the provision for students and readers was inadequate. The records and State-papers had remained in much the same condition as when they were removed from their former repositories. They were often produced with difficulty, under an artificial and cumbrous system of reference. Of printed lists and calendars there were few, if any, for the medieval period, while those for later times were compiled upon a defective plan. Finally, the time available for the inspection of documents, already too short, was further reduced by liberal vaca-

tion closures and frequent interruptions owing to defective light.

In all this a great transformation has been effected, largely by the administrative ability of Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte. We now possess a fine approach to the imposing buildings which form a connected repository and official bureau. The museum displays its instructive contents, which have afforded a rich treat to hundreds of visitors and students; the corridors and search-rooms are well lighted and heated; there is a sense of cleanliness and ventilation; the shelves are filled with helpful inventories; and many other conveniences have been added, including an extension of hours, for which older readers, at least, are profoundly grateful.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that these striking improvements have been accompanied by certain disadvantages, while several long-standing defects still remain to be remedied. The great repository in Fetter Lane is over-hung at several points by lofty warehouses and factories which seem to threaten grave danger to the safety of the records. In this respect the relative positions of the Record Office and the British Museum present a curious contrast to the most casual observer. The latter institution, with its massive railings and its buttressed dwelling houses occupied by vigilant custodians, seems far removed from any risk of fire or civic tumult; and yet, however irreparable the damage that such catastrophes might inflict upon a collection acquired with much pains and expense, it would scarcely be more disastrous than the loss of the nation's title-deeds, the authentic records of its past existence.

Some ten years ago a number of insecure repositories fronting on Chancery Lane were demolished; and on their site there has been erected a noble suite of apartments for the official staff. Readers will doubtless have noticed with satisfaction that many rooms, formerly holding records, have been cleared for the sake of increasing the dim light that filters into the repository. At the same time the loss of space for the storage of records caused by these notable improvements, coupled with the long-delayed transfer of outstanding documents, renders an extension of the present buildings inevitable during the present generation. The sanction of Parliament has also

been invoked for the destruction of superfluous documents, in order to make room for such as cannot be dispensed with. This expedient may be inevitable, but it is one that must not be regarded lightly. As Gibbon has truly said, 'if the inscription of a single fact be once obliterated, it can never be restored by the united efforts of genius and industry.' The risk of such an accident is not an imaginary one, for the Act of 1877 apparently makes no provision whatever for the cooperation of historical scholars in the process of rejection. Documents which, to an official mind, appear wholly unimportant, may be otherwise regarded by a trained historian.

Another inevitable danger is one that especially threatens the most ancient and valuable of our national treasures. The wide distribution of the published calendars has led to an increased reference to the original documents; and the deterioration of certain classes, through mere wear and tear, has been already indicated by experienced antiquaries. In many cases, indeed, very ancient and historic records have apparently not been repaired since they were deposited in official custody; and to find a modern State-paper volume with its cover intact must be an unusual experience for many readers. The neglect in either case is doubtless due to the immense bulk of injured documents awaiting skilful treatment; but, though the causes of this malady may be beyond official control, it is one that calls for drastic remedy.

The admirable facilities that now exist for the inspection of the public records furnish a marked contrast to the difficulties encountered by the student in obtaining access to outlying collections which have not yet been transferred to the custody of the Master of the Rolls. Lost to sight in the recesses of departmental pigeon-holes, such documents are accessible only to some literary official or privileged antiquary. From time to time some book based upon these researches is published; and earlier writers who failed to find those sources in the main collection are naturally aggrieved that their labour was in vain.

The survival to the present day of numerous restrictions on the use of certain classes of State-papers is a fact that is only too well known to many students. It is true that similar restrictions are imposed abroad; but we

believe that they are not to be found within the precincts of the national archives, being enforced only by the bureaux which have retained possession of their departmental records. The position in which our own official custodians are placed towards these privileged collections is therefore clearly an anomalous one. The denial of access to any of the contents of the Public Record Office can only be justified by the plea that the State may be endangered by their disclosure.

Such a plea cannot reasonably be advanced in favour of the excessive restrictions imposed by the State departments upon access to the documents under their control. There are students old enough to remember the time when even their researches in the history of the Revolution of 1688 barely escaped the censorship. Matters were subsequently improved by a considerable extension of dates, and rumours of still further extension are 'in the air'; but American students have still to exercise some self-restraint in dealing with the stirring events of the days when George III was a young and enterprising king; while references to the constitutional *faux pas* which are amongst the common-places of our text-books must be made with bated breath within the precincts of the archives. But there are cases in which danger to public safety is not even suggested, and students are debarred from free inspection of ancient records which have by chance come into the keeping of some modern department. In cases of this sort it is clearly desirable, in the interests of historical study, that inexpert and irresponsible custodians should be relieved of the charge of documents which ought obviously to be regarded as public records and historical State-papers, recent archives being placed in the care of departmental librarians or registrars who have been carefully trained in the essential duties of an archivist. The contents of the 'government pigeon-holes' of to-day will be, as foreign scholars often remind us, the archives of to-morrow. And further—an argument that ought to have weight even with those who are indifferent to historical considerations—the archives of to-morrow often become the State weapons of the day after. Their practical value to the State has been proved by recent cases of international disputes submitted to arbitration. Under these conditions the

pen may easily win more territory than the sword, and the written evidence of contemporary records is eagerly, and, as we know to our cost, sometimes vainly, sought for in the archives. A nation which neglects the aid of science and method in the preservation of its own history must inevitably be worsted in a modern battle of the Hague.

In the face of the general recognition of the benefits which the public has derived from the present régime of the Public Record Office, it may appear somewhat inconsistent and perhaps a little ungracious to indicate defects in the existing system or to suggest some possible improvements. It will be evident, however, that these disadvantages are for the most part beyond the immediate control of the departmental authorities; and, for the rest, this article is not intended as a mere panegyric of the improvements that have taken place, to the exclusion of any modest aspirations for the future of the great national institution of which we have much cause to be proud and equal reason to be hopeful. For we cannot afford in these days of international competition and intellectual progress to rest upon the laurels of a single decade. The great reforms of 1838 retrieved our national credit from an abyss of official apathy and incompetence, but still left us far in the rear of European scholarship. Then our reformed official system slumbered again for fifty years before its next awakening. During all these years continuous improvements were effected abroad; and the intellectual gap was still further widened. It is not to be wondered at, then, that scholars have come to the conclusion that it is no longer prudent to rely entirely on the genius of an occasional reformer in the place of a scientific and professional system such as has now prevailed abroad for nearly a century.

It will be remembered that the late Regius Professor of History at Oxford, in his frequent references to the use of archives, was accustomed to express the blunt opinion that in France they do these things very much better than in England. We certainly find that abroad the care of archives and the study of archives go hand in hand, producing a special cult which is known as the 'science of archives' and, in another aspect, as 'archive-

economy.' We should seek in vain for these terms in Dr Murray's great Dictionary of the English Language, where even the title 'archivist' has no native analogue. But on the Continent they take their archives very seriously. There are 'public' archives, containing purely official documents, and 'private' archives comprising unofficial muniments, while the word is commonly applied to historical works or periodicals which are ostensibly concerned with documentary sources.

It is natural that the foreign archives should be especially associated in the minds of English students with the École des Chartes at Paris. This institution has been of peculiar value to ourselves, because, unlike most other European nations, we have not yet adopted the practical system of study for which it has long been famous. From time to time English students have been sent, chiefly from Oxford, to attend the courses which constitute a liberal education for historical research. Many English scholars must have visited that well-found building in the precincts of the Sorbonne to gaze with envy on the crowded lecture-hall and *salle de travail*, the library with its careful choice of books and the unequalled collection of facsimiles. It is almost incredible that, in return for a trifling yearly expenditure of 3000*l.*, the French nation has been able to enjoy for nearly a century the credit of possessing one of the most admired and most widely copied educational institutions of modern times. For, although the intention of the enlightened ministers of the restored monarchy and the Second Empire alike was to provide a technical training for State archivists, their 'School of Charters' has exercised from the first a marked influence upon the method of historical study, not only in Paris and the French provinces, but also in the universities and academies of learned Europe from St Petersburg to Lisbon.

The link between the technical and educational systems will perhaps be found in the French École des Hautes Études, established in 1868. Since then the tendency has been for the history schools to pay increasing attention to historical method, and to combine the most approved instruction with the practice of original research. To the efficacy of this modern plan the German and Belgian 'seminar' system has no doubt largely contributed, while

the responsibility incurred by the preparation of a thesis has given a new zest to the requirements of post-graduate study. The spirit of adventure may now indeed be said to roam most freely from the West to the East; and the American student who seeks materials from European archives is the latest product of the system which emanated from the *École des Chartes*.

This phase of modern study is not, however, directly connected with the subject of archives. A closer connexion will perhaps be found in the case of the remarkable societies of past and present student-archivists with their academic reviews and publications. Again, the same professional coterie, whether in Paris itself, the departments, or in the great schools established in the seats of classical learning at Athens and Rome, is largely responsible for the scholarly methods of the French historical reviews, and especially for the many admirable works dealing with the auxiliary studies of history.

But it is in his own archives that we see this trained expert at his best. There may be times and places when the wandering scholar can listen with otiose indulgence to the crude platitudes of some uneducated custodian of national monuments or relics. On the eventful occasion of a visit to the archives, however, our scholar is prepared to make the most of his opportunities. He is not there to take his pleasure sadly. The interest of his subject, the excitement of the pursuit of elusive facts through a maze of unexplored documents, the charm of novelty in his antique surroundings, all combine to exalt his conception of official methods. To him the archivist must be a guide, philosopher, and friend, whether by verbal or by written direction. Vexatious delays in the production of documents and lofty indifference to the progress of the searcher's quest will bring utter discomfort with disillusionment. Less grievous, though not less detrimental to the reader's interests, will be found the failure of the *genius loci* to render help, through lack of understanding rather than from want of sympathy.

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand the importance to the studious public of the scholarly training and disposition of the archivist. He has been himself a hard-working student, as he is now a hard-worked public

official. In his leisure hours he has kept himself abreast of historical enquiry as a writer or teacher; and in both capacities he is qualified to assist and encourage the labours of others. It is not even necessary that he should come into actual contact with the reading public. As a compiler of official inventories of the archives, he will have at least equal opportunities of earning their gratitude. We have one more view of the continental archivist as a frequent contributor to some grave symposium in the pages of a learned journal. Here he may be regarded also as the champion of professional interests, for these technical dissertations upon points of archive-science or archive-economy are varied by the discussion of matters which concern the welfare of his own order.

It is true that there is another side to the picture. The archivist is in fact an official; and on the Continent an official is always in some degree a despot. There is always a danger of his becoming a law unto himself while laying down the law for others. But, if an archivist who knows too much is sometimes an inconvenient chaperon, one who is not a trained scholar as well as a good official may possibly prove to be a blind guide. On the whole, then, we have good cause to appreciate the highest type of the official scholar who is the direct product of the French *École des Chartes*. The type itself, and the system that it represents, are now widely distributed through the states of continental Europe. Everywhere we find a similar conception of archives, the same training and establishment of archivists, and a professional review. In recent years there has even been an international congress of archivists; and a notable, though unsuccessful, attempt has been made to establish an international Review.

It will be found, indeed, that in some countries this organisation, based upon a French model, is more complete than in others. Moreover, in more than one of the great European states the initiative in the description and publication of the archives has been left to local authorities or to learned enterprise, while better provision has still to be made for the accommodation of historical students; but even in the smallest, the newest, and the poorest States of Europe, on both the American continents and in some British colonies, we

find an appreciation of the national archives to which we are unfortunately strangers in this country.

A similar uniformity of design will be found to prevail in respect of the official literature of foreign archives, which is chiefly remarkable for its wealth of inventories. These, it may be observed, include local records which in this country are still for the most part undescribed, and, there is reason to fear, have in many cases perished for want of this attention. A bold attempt has also been made to present a conspectus of the existing archives; and it is especially noticeable that these official works are supplemented by numerous 'Guides' to the archives, compiled by private enterprise, as well as by occasional inventories published in professional journals. Another form of these common archive publications is that of a published text which may be produced directly by the State itself, or under the auspices of a State commission, or else by a staff of departmental specialists. In this country we have not the exact equivalent either of the historical or the bibliographical 'Guide,' nor a series of inventories comparable to that produced in modern France. We are certainly richer than our neighbours in respect of Calendars of State-papers and medieval documents, but these do not serve the precise purpose either of an inventory or of a printed text. We can also hold our own in respect of printed indexes; but these have been chiefly published by private scholars and are often of purely local interest.

There is another side of the literary activities of our neighbours which deserves our close attention. At an early stage of the continental movement which resulted in the modern science of archives, it was apparent that the study of the original sources for the national histories must be pursued by means of a comparative method. The official missions of French antiquaries in the eighteenth century have been imitated by other nations with very striking results. These undertakings have not only assumed a permanent form, in the shape of continuous series of official publications, but have also encouraged private researches, which have been still further facilitated by many admirable 'Guide Books' to foreign archives compiled by trained investigators.

In recent years this branch of historical method has been developed in a remarkable degree through the special requirements of American and colonial students, whose early national archives have been depleted by natural or political causes. In these archive missions the British Government has participated during the last thirty or forty years to a considerable extent, so far as mere expenditure and actual publication are concerned. Unfortunately, however, these activities were not, from the first, directed on any scientific or comprehensive plan. Copies were made by English agents at a few important centres, such as Rome, Paris, and Simancas, in a more or less haphazard fashion; and, except where they have been utilised for a printed calendar, they have been of little service to any but a few specialists. No attempt was apparently made to ascertain the relationship of these foreign documents with the enrolments preserved in our own archives; and the scholarly form of the latest Calendars, which is due to the present Deputy Keeper, cannot remove the stigma of unworthiness from the whole undertaking.

It would seem, therefore, that there is some force in the plea so eloquently advanced by the late Prof. York Powell, and supported by the calmer reasoning of other earnest scholars, for the adoption of scientific methods in connexion with the establishment of our own State archives. So far, however, the academic discussion of this question does not seem to have aroused any public interest; and yet, during the later Georgian and early Victorian periods, this interest was widespread. Historians vied with literary antiquaries and record officers in devising better methods of custody and publication; and more than one of their interesting essays will be found in the volumes of this Review.

The results obtained under the Act of 1838 in the direction of strengthening and enlarging the legal powers already exercised for several centuries by Masters of the Rolls have proved to be satisfactory up to a certain point, but not to the extent that is demanded by modern conditions of learning. The statutory control of the Master of the Rolls over outstanding records has not extended beyond the normal transmissions to

the Record Office indicated in the Annual Reports of the Deputy Keeper. Repositories of State documents have existed since the year 1838, of which there has been no official cognisance; and a vast mass of official papers have been allowed to perish without remonstrance. Numerous volumes of 'Addenda' prove only too clearly that the official editors of the Calendars of the last fifty years have been usually unaware of the existence of materials which lay within their reach. As for the 'Lists,' which should long ago have replaced the 'repertories' of former times, and which should correspond in their design with the 'inventories' of continental archives, it can only be said that, like newborn babes, they must be the subject of congratulation and not of critical inspection.

This is a defective and regrettable condition of things. None of us would have a high opinion of the business capacity of a guardian ignorant of the minor items of his trust, or of the scientific attainments of a naturalist content to omit what he regards as uninteresting species from his scheme of classification. Then we learn from the investigations of a Regius Professor that the expert on whom we depend for the arrangement and description of our records, the State archivist who is to hold his own with the highly-trained student of continental schools of charters, gains his position by success in the same examination that qualifies the pupils of a 'crammer' to write official *précis* or to cast accounts of revenue.

We have no desire to urge the necessity for a complete change of system in the administration of our archives. It may be that such a change is eventually inevitable; and it is noticeable that we already possess in this country specimens of an official machinery that has produced valuable results abroad during the last century. For example, the Historical Manuscripts Commission possesses an excellent record for work performed, for the most part, skilfully and with a due regard to economy of labour. In another quarter we have the unequalled administration of the British Museum; while, for the purpose of occasional reports upon the state of outlying archives or other historical origins, remarkable results have been obtained by the employment of experts as

members of a Royal Commission. But, although there is certainly something to be said in favour of a State department, or at least of a new Record Commission, it is only fair to remember that the existing administration of the archives dates from an early period of the history of this country; and, like other survivals of our ancient constitution, it should not be incapable of responding to the requirements of modern times.

The existing powers of the Master of the Rolls, as the statutory custodian of the national archives, if they were duly enforced, would probably suffice not only for the adequate preservation, arrangement, and production of the records already placed under his charge, but also for the recovery of those documents that have not yet been transferred to the repository. How great and far-reaching these powers are will appear from a perusal of the Public Record Office Act of 1838. This measure appears to have contemplated the ultimate transfer of every official document more than twenty years old to the Master's custody. Moreover, since it was wholly impracticable to include all the existing repositories within the immediate operation of the Act, powers were expressly given for dealing with the residue under an Order in Council. This order was eventually issued on March 5, 1852, thus completing the provisions of the Act of 1838. On this showing, therefore, every official document down to the year 1889 is presumably a public record, and is under the 'charge and superintendence' of the Master of the Rolls. It is true that both the Act of Parliament and the Order in Council have been officially interpreted in a permissive sense, and that some temporary saving clauses in the Act itself have been gratuitously extended to the government departments at large. But a permissive reading of the Act cannot be reconciled with the wording of the Order in Council; and, in any case, it is significant that this 'beneficial construction' has been equally applied to cases in which the express direction of the Act has remained a dead letter.

The above arbitrary interpretation of the reforming Act of 1838 is probably responsible for the loose and dangerous provisions of the Act of 1877 authorising the destruction of superfluous records. It is certainly unfortunate that this amending Act should have recognised

the paramount control of departments which must be held responsible for the serious losses sustained by the records in their charge. At the same time it is not suggested that those departments have shown a very strong inclination to assert their proprietary rights. Without any special aptitude for the custody of historical documents of great importance, they have been content to acquiesce in the official theory by which the plain intention of the Act of 1838 has been set at naught. It is absolutely essential, therefore, that this illusory departmental custody should be forthwith set aside, and that effectual steps should be taken to place all the outstanding official documents which fall within the purview of the Public Record Office Act under a responsible custodian.

This is no trifling matter, at least for the historical student of the future. We have no hesitation in asserting that, if an official return could be compiled of all the public documents that have remained out of official custody since the year 1838, when their status as public records was explicitly decreed by Act of Parliament, our historians would be equally appalled by the risks that have been incurred and by the actual losses that have been sustained. Moreover, such a return would necessarily include documents that have been lost to sight from a date long anterior to that of the Act in question. When the arsenals and dockyards of this country, the ports and other local repositories, have yielded up their contents to swell the *trouvaille* of the vaults and garrets of the metropolitan departments, many gaps in the official inventories may be closed, and many details of our political and fiscal history will need to be revised.

The Act of 1838 may thus be regarded as furnishing suitable directions for the custody of the archives. It does not, however, indicate with sufficient clearness the right of free access to the documents which are to be henceforth regarded as 'public records.' Doubtless the cause of this reticence or evasion is to be found in the notorious circumstance that Parliament, while raising the neglected archives to the dignity of a national department, had not at that time the means to make any adequate provision for an official establishment. Thus, the old fee-system was tacitly continued down to the

year 1858; but, although a declaratory section might well be added to the Act in order to vindicate its very title, means have long since been found to hold the system of fees in strict abeyance. Indeed, in respect of facilities for the inspection of the records, the rules and regulations made from time to time by the Master of the Rolls will apparently suffice for every purpose. If we may assume, therefore, that a slight amendment of the Public Record Office Act of 1838 would secure the transfer of all outstanding official documents to the custody of the Master of the Rolls, the existing departmental authorities might be trusted to accomplish in due course the remaining *desiderata* of historical students.

Of these the question next in importance to the concentration of the records and free access to the same under reasonable conditions is naturally that of a sufficient indication of their contents. The cry for inventories is heard to-day all over Europe; and it is raised not only by the rank and file of historical workers, but also by the ablest modern writers on historical method. We note with satisfaction the great efforts that have been recently made in this direction by the present Deputy Keeper; but the arrears of fifty years cannot be overtaken in fifteen. Again, something more than a perfunctory list is now required to satisfy the critical demands of local antiquaries and foreign experts; and the inventory of the future must aspire to a standard in respect of classification and description that was never contemplated by an earlier official régime. Such a list, in addition to an explanation of the principle of classification adopted, should preserve every indication of the earlier systems employed, together with a reference to related documents which have been destroyed or are not now preserved in official custody. It should also clearly express the form and extent of every document, and should note the existence of any mutilation.

It will be seen that the above requirements would involve the task of identifying the State documents that have found their way into public and private libraries. In order to accomplish this task it does not necessarily follow that we must first prepare a comprehensive 'Guide' to these official estrays. In the case of the larger public libraries, a descriptive catalogue is already

available; and with this assistance the work of identification should be fairly simple. It will be remembered that similar identifications have been recently attempted, with remarkable success, in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. As we have seen, this co-ordination of our national archives should be supplemented by the skilful investigations of a foreign intelligence department organised on the lines of the continental and American 'archive missions.' Such an organisation would not only promote the long neglected comparative study of European history, but would serve as a useful bureau of information for the assistance of English students in every capital of Europe.

These operations are not beyond the powers of the authorities of the Record Office, and perhaps they might add to them the advisory direction of the training and examination of archivists; while the desirability of consulting professed historians on the subject of the destruction of superfluous documents has been already referred to. At the same time some such consultation may also be advantageously held in respect of record publications. Finally, the recognition and encouragement by the State of the extensive but often ill-directed schemes of publication from the resources of learned and local societies is a matter deserving consideration; and the new British Academy is well qualified to act as an intermediary between the Government and these isolated bodies. As it is, instances will occur to the reader in which the privately-printed description of a class of records or local muniments dispenses with the need for an official inventory.

The existence of certain defects in our meritorious but antiquated archive system need, after all, give rise to no feeling of despondency or irritation. It must be remembered that the scientific study of this subject abroad was due to causes that have never operated in this country. The sense of national responsibility for the well-being of these priceless possessions has undoubtedly tended to the advancement of more than one branch of learning. It would almost seem that the experiment might be tried by ourselves, *salvo jure cujuscumque*, as the old law-books remind us.

Art. 3.—JACOPONE DA TODI: THE POET OF THE
‘STABAT MATER.’

1. *Bibliographical Notes on the Poems of the Blessed Jacobone da Todi, and on the writers who speak of him.* By Eduard Boehmer. *Romanische Studien*, 1871.
2. *Jacobone da Todi, il Giullare di Dio del secolo xiii.* By Alessandro d'Ancona. *Nuova Antologia*, vol. xxi, 1880.
3. *Jacopone da Todi; lo 'Stabat Mater' e 'Donna del Paradiso.'* Studio su nuovi codici. By Annibale Tenneroni. Todi, 1887.
4. *A Milanese Codex of the Lauds of Brother Jacobone.* Edited by Francesco Novati. ‘*Franciscan Miscellanies*,’ i-iii, 1889.
5. *Les Poètes Franciscains en Italie au 13^{me} Siècle.* By A. F. Ozanam. Paris, 1852.
6. *Jacopone da Todi.* By Cav. Piero Alvi (Arcidiacono di Todi). Todi, 1906.
7. *Fra Jacobone da Todi e l'Epopèa Francescana.* By Biordo Brugnoli. 1907.

TODI's peace and poverty are threatened at last. Sleepers hewn and piled for miles along a line planned from Perugia are ready for the coming railway; but for a year or two Todi will remain a haunt of ancient leisure, a city which welcomes her rare guests with enthusiasm, escorts them up and down her steep streets, and speeds them, not without a suggestion of largesse for her hospitality.

A slight acquaintance with her medieval traditions prevailed over indolence, procrastination, and parsimony, and induced me to share a friend's carriage from Assisi across the Spoletan valley and over the pass below Montefalco into the valley of the Naja and the Rio. We started at six o'clock in the morning in a shabby old chariot, which, six years earlier, had taken me to all the Franciscan shrines within reach, and whose dislocations and tatters the intervening time had only emphasised. The May morning was cool enough at first to counsel wraps, but it developed soon into midsummer heat. Our first stage was Cannara, a quaint walled village on the Umbrian plain, whose narrow streets and many-storeyed buildings suggest a section of a city rather than a townlet

well known to St Francis and his companions, who were wont to nurse its sick and exhort its sound early in the thirteenth century. Eight o'clock struck as we entered Bevagna, the 'misty Mevania' of Propertius, dear to all who honour the memory of St Francis. We could not fix the spot where he preached to the birds, but it was just before the entrance-gate. We halted for two hours to breathe our excellent steeds, and looked, as he must often have done, on the high walls of San Michele and San Silvestro, pierced with tiny arched windows.

How beautiful was the drive over the gentle ascent of the pass and along thirty miles of high road to Todi! Behind us was the great plain backed by Subasio and the high range about Foligno and Trevi, where the Topino has its source; further south was Spoleto, and near it Clitumnus, whose steers are still snow-white. To our left rose hills terraced with farms and vineyards, on one of which stands Montefalco, the watch and ward of Umbria, north and south. To our right the low Apennines stretched westwards, broken, as they neared Perugia, by the valley of the young Tiber making its way to Todi from the north. On either wayside lay cushions of thyme, purple, mauve, and lavender, in continuous masses. Where the ground was cultivated, long flax-furrows bent their sky-blue waves to the wind; here and there spread acres of dark blue salvia; on the roadside lingered roses, red and white, unsoiled, for here motors have not begun to forge their desecrating way. We topped the brow and came into sight of the southern valley. It is much narrower than the valley of Spoleto and much more wooded. Oak-trees grow everywhere, in clumps or in straggling lines; and mile after mile repeats the landscape of vineyard, corn, and bosage, of farmhouse and wayside hamlet, till Todi on her throne is espied where the plain widens, where the Tiber gleams, and the Rio and Naja render up their tributes to its historic stream.

We stopped only once at a smithy, where our careful driver flung beakers of red wine down his horses' throats, the smith helping, as they resented the refresher. But it availed, and they spurted cheerfully onwards to the foot of Todi's hill, where stands a fine church of the decadence planned by Bernini. Winding round the walls, we climbed up a steep and narrow street and drew up below

a flight of steps down which the host of Todi's only hotel came to meet us. The *salone* where we had tea was a relic of the palatial past; and the whole house bespoke bygone importance, its solid structures broken by arches so symmetrically grouped that they claimed their descent from an age when building was a regal art. In that age Todi was a wealthy city which had outlived two civilisations, and had learnt from both such architecture as defied time. Twenty thousand people then filled the town, and forty thousand more farmed the plains which the Counts of Todi owned. Now, five thousand in the city and ten or twelve thousand in its communal environs complete the muster-roll. Its walls are based here and there with massive Etruscan masonry, and an arch spans the main street whose foundations may be Etruscan too; but its broken bridge joining two sections of some ancient magnate's palace belongs to the decadence. Tudertum, Tudertanum, Tuder—for such are its antique names—was a city of importance, perhaps because of its position on the left bank of the Tiber. Roman remains are plentiful, the Forum with its fractured wall still showing four arched recesses in which booths or stalls might be set up. An amphitheatre and twenty great halls for public cisterns testify to the munificence of Imperial provision.

But it was medieval Todi and its condition during the thirteenth century which had lured me thither, and which lure all who care to understand a little the literature preceding Dante and expressing Italian ideals before his time. He was familiar with this literature, and in the twenty-fourth canto of his 'Purgatorio' puts into Forese's mouth the names of some of its most eminent representatives. Neither in that list nor in those of cantos XI and XXVI does Jacopone's name appear, probably because he was still alive in 1300, the date chosen by Dante for his spiritual pilgrimage. But it is impossible to suppose that he never read Jacopone's Canticles and Lauds written in the vernacular, nor the two great Latin hymns of the 'Stabat Mater,' 'Mary at the Manger' and 'Mary at the Cross,' which rank in the Church with Thomas of Celano's 'Dies Iræ.'

It was to catch the spirit of their poet's time, to learn the aspect of his surroundings, to look on the nature

which soothed him in his agony, to visit the house to which he brought his bride, that I went to Todi. I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Monsignor Alvi, Archdeacon of Todi and Prior of the Cathedral, who helped my quest. I discovered the house for myself. It stands on a wide ledge of the hill up which Todi climbs, a ledge known locally as La Piana, a little way below the ruins of the Forum. On this ledge, a row of houses with massive substructures faces the mountains and looks over the plain. One of these houses is built on to an antique church, San Carlo, no longer used, whose beautiful façade and belfry recall a more primitive architectural epoch than that which produced the Duomo and San Fortunato. Its pierced window and delicate decorative mouldings point to the tenth or eleventh century. When Jacopone was born these other churches did not exist, although they were begun during his life.

This house, joined to San Carlo, which it outsteps a pace, is the most imposing in the row. Its bases are very old and are probably Etruscan. I pushed open its *portone* and entered a stone hall, at the far end of which is a great recess where stands a huge quadrangular trough, very high, into which *acqua vivente* falls, its overflow disappearing down an ancient drain in the floor. Above the hall are several stories which form separate dwellings, their rooms still on the original plan, covered by the same beams, protected now by strong wooden boxes. The windows were renewed in the eighteenth century and provided with mullions, which detract from their antiquity, but their outlook is the same, away to the mountains of Massa Martana and to the eternal snows of the glorious Leonessa.

Jacopone's father was a famous notary of Todi, Benedetto di Simo, of noble family and possessing a feudal estate outside the city called Spagliagrano. He was a Ghibelline, and popular amongst the people, who had submitted to the Emperor Frederick II. So far as can be gathered, his son was born in his house outside the city. His birth-year was probably 1228, two years after the death of St Francis, and about the same time that his future foe Benedetto dei Gaetani, afterwards Pope Boniface VIII, was born at Anagni. They were contemporaries for seventy-three years.

Gregory IX was pope at the time of their birth, and waged war with the great Emperor with all the craft and determination which had characterised him as Cardinal Ugolino. Like his predecessors, he established the papal Court about once in three years at Perugia in order to keep the Imperial popularity in check. When Jacopo, the son of Benedetto di Simo, was eight years old, Gregory was there for the last time. He drove back to Rome through Todi, after a somewhat troubled residence, for even at Perugia he found a warm leaning towards the cultured and fascinating Frederick, which troubled the reverence due to the pontiff. But as the people believed that the Holy Father's power could avail against flood, famine, and pestilence, by which Umbria was then devastated, the province executed a discreet *volte-face* during his stay, and he was received at Todi with every kind of spectacular honour. We know that Jacopo was in the crowd assembled to receive his benediction; and perhaps Benedetto Gaetani was there too, for he had powerful relatives at Todi and got his early schooling there. They were not unlike each other in character at that time, both full of spirit, reckless, delighting in wild truaneries, disobedient, quarrelsome, ready for the mimic encounters of the street, perhaps rivals in and out of school.

The young Gaetani's claim to nobility of birth rested on somewhat insecure assumption; one can imagine the two braggarts taunting each other, for we know that both were boastful; and, although a notary's son may seem to us of no lofty status, Jacopo was born of a highly placed family, its members Counts of the Empire, men of feudal property and notaries, because the profession carried high privileges—magistracies, chancellorships, ambassadorial possibilities. It may be that their intercourse already contained some mutual pique and initiated the later hostility. But there was an elementary difference between them. Benedetto had imagination as well as Jacopo, boundless imagination, but it thirsted for power and had visions only of supremacy. Jacopo's imagination rioted in all that made for a certain glory of living, for sumptuous apparel and feasts, for ruffling it amongst his peers, for song and satire, sparkling talk and ingenious wit. In him an extravagant humanity pulsed; in Benedetto Gaetani an extravagant audacity.

Jacopo, as we learn from his own confession, was difficult to control and was often in disgrace with his stern father. It was Ser Benedetto's desire that his boy should succeed to his professional position and its emoluments; and he had had hard work to keep the lad steady to his lessons in Latin. In time, however, he was sufficiently advanced to be sent to Bologna for training in canon and civil law, in literature and in theology. Gaetani was despatched to Paris, also bent on jurisprudence and theology. At Bologna Jacopo studied diligently, and we find him already doctor of law at the age of twenty. Signor Biordo Brugnoli describes his triumphant course through the city of scholars when he attained his degree:

'Surrounded by a troop of roystering, cheering fellow-students, and preceded by the four University trumpeters, a youth of about twenty years, clad in scarlet gown, rode a palfrey adorned with decorated trappings, and comported himself with a comic air of scholarly dignity. It was the newly-made Doctor Jacopo, who traversed the streets of the city amidst an applauding crowd of friends of both sexes, acquired during his residence in learned Bologne.'

His exuberant humanity helped his popularity, and he must have been delightful company. His gifts were roused by the vivifying influences of the place; along with canon and civil law he studied literature, which had received a definite impetus from the fervours of the century, and, following the lead of St Francis, was finding its occasional expression in the vernacular. Jacopo probably knew Guinicelli, who is extolled in the 'Purgatorio' (canto xxvi) as a poet

'Who was a father to me and to those
My betters who have ever used the sweet
And pleasant rhymes of love.'

And again:

'Those dulcet lays which, as long
As of our tongue the beauty does not fade,
Shall make us love the very ink that traced them.'

Dante mentions him too in the 'Convito' and in 'De Vulgari Eloquentia.' Guido Guinicelli was of noble Bolognese family, and was already a noted poet. If his

beautiful sonnets so impressed Dante when he was first finding the sonnet form a fitting shrine for the memory of Beatrice, we cannot doubt that Jacopo read them eagerly, perhaps engaged in friendly rivalry with the acknowledged poet, discovered for himself the poetic value of the vernacular, and tried his prentice hand on every classic mould. Guinicelli was eight years older than Jacopo, and was resident in Bologna. It was still the time of troubadour poetry; and both practised the 'sweet and pleasant rhymes' of Provence. There is a delicacy in Guinicelli's thought and diction to which Jacopo never attained, but Jacopo had the stronger afflatus, the finer frenzy of the two.

The thirteenth century Renaissance, in which more than half a hundred poets—the foremost being Guinicelli—took part before Dante, possessed two distinguishing characteristics—its fine aftermath of classic philosophy, and its own tremulous sense of sin, death, and judgment. What in Imperial Rome had become a melancholy acceptance of annihilation, a creed leading either to desperate courses of intemperate dissipation, or to cold and pulseless resignation, was in this outburst of mental growth, of emulation, of vitality in vernacular evolution, quite as sensible of death and of failure, but penetrated by a savage theological faith whose most potent tenets were hell and the judgment to come. This penitential fervour derived from St Francis and St Dominic. So overwhelming was this flood of emotion that, although the century's poets were not carried out of their depth upon its current, they did not and could not escape its influence. It was as much in the air as was puritanism in England when the Tudors and Stuarts reigned, or as is agnosticism in our own time. And dread of hell was a profitable weapon for the Church.

A renaissance spirit is apt to breathe doubt, to loosen moral obligation, to counsel pleasure, even while it is enhancing men's knowledge, expanding their outlook, enriching their powers. It takes time for the ferment to subside, for the new order to appear. But in the thirteenth century the Church was still a living and authoritative power. Jacopo had come under its influence both in Todi and at Bologna, and was as learned in its theology as in law. But the Church had its pet

toleration; and we learn from the '*Divina Commedia*' how infinitely more heinous in its computation were the sins of the mind and the spirit than those of the flesh. The latter could be confessed, paid for in penance and annealed; the former incurred censure, suspicion, torture, martyrdom.

We find Jacopo not only a successful student, but a boon companion of the nobler and richer youths of Bologna. He was advised by his worldly-wise father to make friends of the '*mammon of unrighteousness*,' and chose his comrades with an eye to their position and wealth. His father gave him funds for extravagance, and he was conspicuous by his fine clothes and equipages, the banquets he gave, and his reckless expenditure. Amongst his friends were the choicest spirits of disorder in Bologna; and he tells us in his satires and confessions how wild were their excesses, how insane their pranks, how opposed they were to order and authority. Indeed their follies overleapt the limits of decency and of reverence for things sacred. It was a common feature of their entertainments to sing ribald songs which parodied the metre, the words, and even the music of religious chants and hymns. Jacopo was skilled in this ignoble mimicry; and, as he studied secular verse, so he studied the forms used in church services that he might use them for this purpose. In time he almost exhausted his father's estate, and was recalled to assist in its recovery.

On his return to Todi he seems to have been astounded at the effect of his vainglorious career in Bologna and set himself to professional work with energy. He made an excellent notary, conducting the local cases with skill and success, and securing both confidence and esteem from his fellow-citizens. Knowledge of the world, wide interests, and great charm of manner, made him a marked personage in Todi and its environs. But he resented lack of means to maintain the state he loved, and he added to his professional activity a secret source of money-making by usurious lending. He avows this in the '*laud*' '*O pitiful Christ*,' and adds the detail that he gave scarcer measure to the poor than to the rich, and dunned them more ruthlessly for payment. He was soon as wealthy as he desired to be; but there was still lacking to him the dignity of a household presided over by a

highborn and beautiful wife. The years which made him rich made him older, and he was nearly forty years of age when he decided on marrying. His father was dead, and he was living in the big house on La Piana at which we have already glanced. To this house he brought a bride in 1267. She was Giovanna di Bernardino di Guidone; and her family ranked amongst the Counts Comitoli. Ser Bernardino was a Ghibelline, as was Jacopo; and his feudal property was at Canalicchio, near Todi. The Counts Comitoli had freed themselves from subjection to Perugia, and had established themselves within the more tolerable jurisdiction of Todi. Vanna was good and beautiful, and not only won the devotion of her brilliant husband, but influenced him for good. Like a very troubadour, he extolled his 'treasure' in song. She gave him all her affection, meeting his wishes even when they ran counter to her own.

For Vanna had felt the strong wind of the Spirit which swept through Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and France from 1258 for more than a decade of years. Perhaps it originated in Umbria and was a natural sequel of the Franciscan reformation, acting on and through the people rather than through the degenerate friars. War, pestilence, and famine were desolating central Italy; spiritual scourges followed—suspensions, interdicts, excommunications—even more formidable to the imagination than material troubles; and consciences were shaken into a penitential conviction that they were the tokens of God's wrath. It may be that Raniero Fasani snapped the cord, and liberated crowds to the freedom of agonised confession; but it is evident that the way of the Spirit had been long prepared by the example, the rule, and the third order of St Francis.

The highways of four countries were filled with wandering companies calling men, women, and children to prayer and penance, to the praise of God, and to poverty. These strange wayfarers took the road from Perugia to Todi, and had been seen there long before Jacopo's marriage. There is indeed some reason to suppose that even his conscience had been stirred, and that he had abandoned his unholy practices. Vanna had been more than moved; she had yielded to the influence of the Spirit; she had in her seclusion given

herself to prayer; and underneath the robes which, as Ser Jacopo's wife she wore, a hair-shirt and a chain girdle fretted her tender skin. To him she spoke no word of this, but obeyed him even to the wearing of gorgeous velvets, brocades, and jewels, at balls and banquets where he loved her to shine. She practised her humiliations and austerities in secret, and prayed for his entire awakening. The high gods took her at her word, but at the cost of her innocent life.

The story is well known to readers of English poetry through Matthew Arnold's sonnet, 'The Austerity of Poetry.' Vanna went one day, a few months after her marriage, to celebrate a civic festival. There were crowds of citizens in the piazza, great banquets in the palaces, balconies and terraces adorned with gay hangings. Part of the spectacle took place in the square; and the balconies were filled with richly-dressed ladies. Vanna was amongst her friends. The crowd about her pressed and swayed; and the floor on which they stood gave way, precipitating them all to the ground. Many were hurt; all suffered from the shock; and one of them, the gentle and beautiful Vanna, was mortally crushed. Jacopo, called to the spot, lifted her in his arms and bore her to a quiet room, where he helped to unfasten her dress that the physician might examine her wounds. Beneath her festal robes he found the penitential shirt and chain. Vanna had just life left to turn her eyes full of tenderness upon her husband and to smile. Smiling she died, and then Jacopo went out of his mind.

For a long time his aberration lasted, but it took an exceptional form. It was remorse, self-abasement, gone mad. The sight of Vanna's penance, her silent protest against the vanities and gaities which she endured in obedience to his will, the thought that but for his love of the world she would not have died, pierced him to the heart; and his whole nature revolted against himself and against the world. What happened to him in the earlier months of his calamity we do not know. He emerged from them a new creature. The tempestuous nature which had given itself wholly to the world was now given wholly to God; and he was dominated by an impulse to make his surrender manifest to all.

Doubtless this impulse first made itself felt in ways

which indicate the impact of mental disturbance as well as of emotion. There is a frieze of small frescoes in two rooms of Jacopo's house on La Piana, painted about a century after his death and recently discreetly restored for Count Pongelli the present proprietor. Those frescoes of incidents in the years of his life after 1268 endorse the surmise that his vagaries had a spiritual significance. The seizure immediately after Vanna's death had affected his speech; and for some time he could not utter his message, so he acted it. When his younger brother was married, he was invited to the wedding. He collected the feathers of capons and chickens plucked for the banquet, smeared his body with honey and went covered with fluff and feathers. It was his renunciation of fine dress which had been not only his inordinate passion, but was linked to the memory of Vanna's death. Another fresco tells us how a cousin met him while marketing, and entrusted him with a pair of chickens to carry 'home.' Jacopo took them to his friend's new sarcophagus in San Fortunato, lifted the lid and dropped them in. There was naturally an angry remonstrance from the cousin, but Jacopo explained that no man had a home so certain as the tomb, and that he was bidden carry the chickens 'home.'

One other incident carries us further into his freakish reasoning. Having rejoiced in costly and sumptuous robes, in great personal nicety, and in a somewhat haughty carriage and manner, he did penance by wearing the skin of an ass and crawling on all fours. His fellow-citizens took him for a creature afflicted by God, a harmless madman; but the children, less merciful, pelted him with stones and gave him the nickname of *Jacopone*, or 'Big Jacob,' which he accepted and adopted, for beneath his crazy behaviour there was a great spiritual change at work. It is asserted that his prank of wearing the semblance of an ass was suggested by the guardian of a convent of Franciscans whom he wished to join. Knowing his former character, he was bidden 'become an ass, so that as an ass he might live amongst asses.' But many years passed before he joined their order.

In the meantime other influences were at work to heal him. Mute, stricken, humbled, he was wont to seek

the solitudes of nature and there to pour out his passionate confessions in prayer. As the power of speech returned he began to sing praises to God, of whose presence and consolations he grew conscious. Amongst the itinerary penitents were some known as the *Laudesi*, because they sang aloud as they marched; and it is probable that he joined one of their companies for a time. It is certain that he wrote 'lauds' for their use, 'lauds' breathing renunciation and yearning after the spiritual life. He was absorbed, too, in meditations on death and the grave, and contributed to the literature of penitence, so characteristic of that time, several remarkable poems satirising himself in his former wordliness. One is catalogued as his Fifth Satire:

'Man, O think within thy heart
 Whence thy boasting comes to thee.
 Think, O man, of what thou art,
 What thou wert and what shalt be,
 And to what thou shalt return:
 Let thy thoughts within thee burn.
 From the dust, of dust conceived,
 Subject thou to fret and fray,
 If thou hast some jot achieved,
 Is it worth thy boast to-day?
 Thou art formed of vilest earth,
 And in weeping wert thou born;
 Versed in misery from thy birth,
 Shalt to earth in time return.
 Thou didst come a pilgrim poor,
 Naked, helpless and undone;
 And with sobs and weeping sore
 Was thy pilgrimage begun.
 Sobs for songs when thou didst start,
 Not a doit to pay thy cost;
 But God one grace did impart—
 His own image thou couldst boast.
 Hast thou glory in thy dress
 Gathered to thee by thy wit?
 Vain it were thou must confess
 To find cause for pride in it.
 For the lamb gives thee its wool,
 And the corn yields thee its grain—
 Sooth thou art an arrant fool;
 'Tis God's creatures thee maintain.

Look, O man, upon His trees
 Bearing fruit for thee to eat,
 Fragrant fruit thy taste to please,
 Full of flavour, too, and sweet.
 See the vine its clusters bear,
 See them ripen midst the green;
 Leave them slow to ripen there;
 They will yield thee drink, I ween.
 Dost remember, man, how thou
 Vermin bearest and not fruit,
 Vermin that thee torture now,
 Rob of peace and bite to boot?
 Dost thou glory such to bear?
 O believe me when I say,
 To the end they will be there,
 In the grave till judgment day.'

In the fourth book of the Venetian edition of his Canticles we find a 'Contemplation against Pride,' numbered xxv, which consists of a gruesome conversation between the dead and sepulchred bones and Jacopone. A few stanzas suffice to convey its message:

1. 'When thou takest thy delight,
 O worldly man of wealth and might,
 Turn, turn thy mind unto the tomb,
 And hither let thy footsteps come.
 Bethink thee well that thou must turn
 Unto like dust as in this urn,
 To ashes such as thou dost spurn.
2. O answer me thou buried one,
 Now rapt away from sky and sun,
 Where are the garments thou didst wear?
 For now foul rags alone are there.
3. O brother mine, it pains me not
 That thou enquirest of my lot,
 Since I am stripped of all I wore,
 And for my covering nothing more
 Than dust and ashes can I boast.
4. O where is now the head that most
 Thou cherishedst—what has so marred
 Its form as if with flame 'twere scarred?
 Could ever sight more painful be?
5. From this my head once fair to see
 Gone all the flesh, fallen all the hair;

I never dreamt in upper air
That I such misery should bear.

6. And where are now thy vanished eyes?
From out their sockets, I surmise,
The worms have eaten them, nor feared
Thine anger when their prey they neared.
7. Lost are they, servants to my sin,
O woe is me, without, within:
O woe is me, now know I well
My flesh devoured, my soul in Hell!

And so, through every feature and limb, Jacopone chastised his own vainglory in the things of flesh and time, and ended with an appeal to all to come and contemplate their destruction in the tomb; for what can they profit a man whose soul they send to hell?

After some years spent in this half-abject and half-lofty contrition, Jacopone recovered. The paralysis of his powers was relaxed; the activity of his brain and judgment returned. Long hours spent in the open air and a measure of gladness in poverty and renunciation braced his resolution towards the spiritual life. He was often absent from Todi, making his way from shrine to shrine of St Francis, seeking at Assisi, in the March, at Rieti, Camaldoli, Alverna, to find his footsteps and to follow in them. At Alverna he made the acquaintance of Brother John, a zealous champion of true Franciscanism, from whom he received spiritual instruction and whom he held very dear to the end of his life. Perhaps, too, he sought the more renowned hermitages of that time. One of these was on Monte Morrone in the Abruzzi, where Pier Angeleriere practised a vigorous asceticism. Here a cave hollowed in a limestone rock has been for six centuries the haunt of a long succession of hermits, amongst whom St Onofrio and Pope Celestine were the most notable. The latter, born in Salmone and ordained in Rome, gave up his priestly life and retired first to this hermitage, thence to the Majella and after a few years back to Monte Morrone, where he built an oratory and founded an order of monks for whom he erected a convent. He obtained Pope Urban's authorisation for his order, to which he gave the name of the Celestines. He himself lived in the cave and was accounted one of the holiest of men.

When Jacopone returned to Todi, he was fortified to combat with a recrudescence of desire for the luxurious habits of his youth and manhood. He was beset by a great necessity for distraction that he might not fail. He sold all his possessions and gave their price to the poor of Todi, left the city and avoided contact with his fellow-citizens and with anything that recalled the prosperous worldliness of his earlier years. He sought shelter in the mountains and forests, and in touch with nature began to reconstruct the fabric of his life. It is said that he drew up a rule which included recreation as well as religious exercises. Since he must renounce all human friendships, he made friends of the mountains, the groves, the rivers, and took them for the audience of his verse. To them he sang his 'lauds'; to them he danced; to them he poured out his longing for holiness, ridding himself in their sympathy of his sorrows and the remembrance of past years. In child-like gaiety he declared himself a child—born again. The fantasy went far towards his healing; and summers so spent, with seasons of wandering planned to give battle against himself, proved effectual in the end. As Prof. Brugnoli suggests, the artist in him inspired means for his own salvation.

With restored health he set himself to make detailed confession of his sins in 'lauds,' which, although they breathe horror of his guilt, contain no morbid exaggeration, but rather a supreme sincerity; and this sincerity is emphasised by his use of the Umbrian vernacular. He tells a plain unvarnished tale in the homely language of the people. So plain it is that sometimes it quits the region of poetry, and descends into mere rhyming narrative; but thence again it soars into allegory, spiritual fervour, mystical exaltation. Umbria and Tuscany were the homes of that form of poetry called 'Lauds'; and in Umbrian and Tuscan-Italian they were composed.

About eighteen years after Vanna's death Jacopone was received into the Franciscan order. He was a tertiary, and called himself one of God's minstrels, like Fra Pacifico, for years before he entered the convent at Pantanelli. He took the vows with a solemnity scarcely understood by the friars of that generation. In the split between the conventual friars and the faithful followers of St Francis—the brothers of hermitages and huts—Jacopone's mind

was wholly on the side of the latter, and his love of saintly poverty was only second to that of the Patriarch. There had been hesitancy on the part of the Guardian at Pantanelli about his reception. In order to propitiate the friars he had given them a Latin chant, 'Cur Mundus militat sub vana gloria,' and a 'laud' in the idiom of Todi upon the uncertainty of all earthly good; and the quality of these poems led them to admit him, expecting honour to their convent from his renown.

At first he was happy in strict obedience to authority; but his devout submission to asceticism, his poverty and humility, soon brought him into disfavour with the lax and self-indulgent friars. Their contempt of the rule grieved him to the quick; and a number of his 'lauds' were inspired by the pain he suffered. 'Ah!' he cried, 'I weep because Love is not loved.' In keen and dramatic satire he represented Poverty as going about the ways seeking in vain for recognition. Driven from their gates by prelates and monks, she hoped to be welcomed by the followers of Francis her spouse, but found them well clad and abundantly fed. They, too, scornfully refused her shelter; and she turned to the abodes of the sisters of poverty. But the portress bade her be gone; the abbess cried out with horror at her appearance, and bade the gardener chase her away with blows. Weeping, poor Poverty called aloud: 'Francis alone truly loved me.'

Jacopone wrote three beautiful 'lauds' on St Francis, which contain the whole theology of the order as he founded it. In 'O Francis, beloved of God,' we find set forth the saint's mission to defeat a second time the machinations of the devil. First, Christ humbled his power in the world; then Francis was sent by God to resist his lures and weaken his hold upon both Church and people. All three poems are explicit as to his place in God's plan; and Jacopone has always been associated with St Anthony of Padua and St Bonaventure as the third Franciscan theologian. Other poems were satires scourging the decadent friars, 'wolves in sheep's clothing' he called them, 'displeasing to God'; wounding Christ anew, persecuting His 'little flock.' For his efforts he received hatred and persecution at Pantanelli but, undiscouraged, maintained his single-handed crusade. His satires commended themselves to the Umbrian people,

and were sung on the roads and in the streets. They were written in rough dialect and vertebrated with peasant phrases and peasant wit, for the finer style which he employed for praise was laid aside in these satires in order that his invectives might appeal the better to the people. He called it his 'new madness' to abandon the classical style in which he had taken delight, the Ciceronian periods, the love-chants, and the sophistries of polished rhetoric, for plain speaking.

His hermit friend, Pier del Morrone, was made pope in July 1294 by the craft of Cardinal Gaetani, who chose him as a warming-pan for his own accession. Pier became Pope Celestine V, reigned foolishly for five months, and resigned at the peremptory dictation of Gaetani. Dante has too sternly meted out to him immortal discredit as the pope of the 'great refusal.' Jacopone, who knew his incapacity, sent him a satirical epistle on his election, and yet cherished a faint hope that he might attempt some reformation in the monastic orders. It was quenched by his grant of privileges, excessive in their character, to the order of Celestines on Mount Morrone. Jacopone advised him to resign, but was no better pleased with the election of Gaetani as Pope Boniface VIII.

This man had made himself the most famous jurisconsult of his time. After his training at Paris he went to Bologna for a time; and, as Jacopone was still there, it is probable that the old jealousy was renewed. He entered the Church, a man worldly, ambitious, crafty, loving power and promotion, and knowing how to attain them. He received benefice after benefice, in England, France, and Italy, one of the latter at Todi. He knew England well, and had been there in the suite of Cardinal Ottoboni, the Legate. He was useful to the Curia, and was made cardinal at the age of fifty-three, from which time he managed the Conclave to his own advantage. Of sanctity he recked nothing; of religion he knew little; but he understood the trade of pope, its power and its perquisites. On Christmas eve, 1294, he took his seat on the papal throne; but the curse of poor Pope Celestine troubled him: 'Thou shalt secure the papacy like a fox: thou shalt die like a dog.' Hunted down and imprisoned by Boniface, Celestine died in the tower of Fumone in

1296, and Boniface had the cynical audacity to prepare for his victim's beatification. In the same year he enraged the King of France by a Bull forbidding the French clergy to subsidise the royal revenue; on which Philip the Fair took the part of his enemies, and helped Sciarra Colonna with troops against him.

From the first, Jacopone sided with the Pope's foes. The poet had left Pantanelli and was in a convent near Preneste. He was a signatory to the protest against Boniface, drawn up at Palestrina by Cardinals Pietro and Jacopo Colonna, and his signature reads, 'Jacopo Benedetti da Todi.' For this Boniface summoned him to Rome, and then condemned him to imprisonment in a filthy pit of the convent on Mount Preneste, where the poor 'minstrel of God' was nearly suffocated. But he prayed and sang with redoubled energy, and defied his persecutor in a satirical poem. In this he describes jestingly the horrors of his prison—the foul air, the stale bread and water lowered to him, the rats which disputed his food, his chains rattling when he moved, his plank bed, and the darkness. But he called the world to witness that his foe was powerless to crush his triumphant spirit. Then the angry pontiff launched a Bull of excommunication against him. The act struck home into the old man's breast; for it was a binding dogma that a pope—atheist though he might be, guilty of every deadly sin—could wield the weapons of divine wrath. Jacopone tried to soften the hard heart; he entreated absolution and leave to return to the 'flock of Francis,' in vain. But the acute mind of Jacopo the notary soon came to his aid; and he knew that such a one as Boniface was powerless to snatch his soul from God. The pope was 'Lo falso clericato,' foe to the Church; and he wrote his laments on the Church degraded by such a lord.

It is said that, one day in 1299, Boniface came to see the ruins of Preneste and passed by Jacopone's dungeon. Looking down he called out mockingly, 'Well, Jacopone, when are you coming out?' and the old poet answered, 'When thou shalt come in.' Four years later the prediction was fulfilled; and when Boniface, made prisoner, died of shame and vexation, Jacopone was released, and absolved by Benedict XI. He returned to Pantanelli,

but only for a brief time, as he was directed to retire to Collazzone about twelve miles north-west of Todi.

He passed his native city on the way, and blessed it as St Francis had blessed Assisi. The journey was long, and he was worn by seven years of cruel imprisonment; so he rested a few days at the convent of the Vallombrosiani in Fontanellis, whence he walked to San Lorenzo at Collazzone. As he entered, he chanted, 'This is my rest; here have I desired to dwell.' And here he dwelt three years in peace and in a rapture of devotion, his most exalted poems being written at this period. The love of God, the love of Christ, were his themes; there was no more satire, no more morbid depreciation of life, of the senses, of the needs of 'Brother Body.' He recognised that sight, touch, hearing, and tasting are gifts from above; that the fragrance of fruit and flower, the glory of mountain and valley, the singing of birds and murmur of streams, the pleasant flavours of food and drink, the kindly touch of a friendly hand, were created by divine love and are eloquent of their Creator. Constant meditation on the love of God inspired him to write his 'Laud of the Five Gateways,' at which a man may meet these varied gifts of love. It was also during these last years that Jacopone composed his great Latin hymn, 'Stabat Mater Dolorosa,' the undying evidence of his power, since it has been fitted with music as immortal for the solemnity of the Mass. It is less well known that he wrote a second, the 'Stabat Mater Speciosa' of the manger-cradle, inspired by the memory of St Francis and the *Presepio* at Monte Colombo. It expresses Mary's wondering worship of the Babe of Bethlehem.

In December 1306 he lay dying in the hospital of San Lorenzo at Collazzone, worn out with suffering, perhaps with joy. On his pallet he sang his last praise of divine love. The friars had entreated him to receive the last sacraments, but he bade them wait, 'for,' said he, 'John of La Verna will come and he will administer them to me.' As he spoke two travelling friars sought admission; and one of them was his friend. The last offices were performed, and in a rapture of devout and radiant gratitude he sat up in bed and sang his swan-song:

'O Love Divine, Thy wounds,
With which Thou woundest me,

Forbid all other sounds
 But praise, O Love, to Thee.
 For I am Thine, O Love,
 Who kindled hast this fire;
 And Thou art mine, O Love—
 Whom else should I desire?
 For Thou dost fill my heart
 With yearning Thine to be;
 O Love let me depart,
 I pray now unto Thee.
 I long for Jesu's love;
 With Him for aye to live.
 O Love Divine above,
 Rest and my Saviour give!
 Jesu, Thou art my all;
 I lose myself in Thee.
 Jesu my Love I call,
 My hope eternally.'

It was his message to the world, and singing it, he died.
 And still, six centuries later, his message is proclaimed
 in every basilica of Europe, and men's voices rise on
 glorious strains of music as they pray:

'Eia Mater, fons amoris,
 Me sentire vim doloris
 Fac, ut tecum lugeam.
 Fac ut ardeat cor meum
 In amando Christum Deum,
 Ut sibi complaceam.

 Fac me tecum pie flere,
 Crucifixo condolere,
 Donec ego vixero;
 Juxta Crucem tecum stare
 Et me tibi sociare
 In planctu desidero.'

Todi received its dead with pomp and all solemnity. His
 body was first laid in state in San Carlo, but was eventu-
 ally buried under the high altar of San Fortunato,

Art. 4.—ANCIENT JERUSALEM.

1. *Jerusalem: the Topography, Economics, and History, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70.* By George Adam Smith, D.D. Two vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907-8.
2. *Ancient Jerusalem.* By Selah Merrill. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908.
3. *Jerusalem in Bible Times.* By Lewis Bayles Paton. Chicago: University Press. London: Luzac, 1908.
4. *The City of Jerusalem.* By Colonel C. R. Conder. London: Murray, 1909.
5. *The Second Temple in Jerusalem: its History and its Structure.* By W. Shaw Caldecott. London: Murray, 1908.
6. *Sacred Sites of the Gospels.* By W. Sanday, D.D., with the assistance of Paul Waterhouse. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
7. *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre.* By the late Major-General Sir C. W. Wilson. Edited by Colonel Sir C. M. Watson. London: Published by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1906.
8. *Die El-Amarna Tafeln.* Translated and edited by J. A. Knudtzon. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908.
9. *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte.* I. *Der heilige Fels auf dem Moria und seine Altäre.* III. *Der Schlangenstein im Kidrontal bei Jerusalem.* By Rudolf Kittel. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908.
10. *Siloah; Brunnen, Teich, Kanal, zu Jerusalem.* By Carl Mommert. Leipzig: Haberland, 1908.

THERE is no site on earth round which human interest might be expected to centre more keenly than about the site of Jerusalem. If the uniquely sacred associations which the place possesses, for Jew and Christian alike, fail to make their appeal, yet to any mind possessing an imagination capable of being kindled by the romance of history, Jerusalem offers a field of study unrivalled in its possibilities. Still the fact remains that for the great majority, at least among English-speaking races, the spell fails to work. For one visitor to Jerusalem who can say that he has realised his expectations, there are ten who freely confess that they are disappointed. Two

or three days—so they tell their friends at home—are enough for the sights of Jerusalem; and these, when seen, scarcely repay the trouble of the visit.

The reason is that the modern English tourist knows too much and too little to profit by his opportunities. He cannot go with the childlike faith of the Russian peasant, and bow with awe and wonder before the reputed sacred sites of Gospel history. It needs but little study to convince him how largely the fixing of these sites depends upon the arbitrary assumptions of an uncritical tradition; and he is apt to be repelled by the confident assertions of his dragoman as to the occurrence at a particular spot of one or another event which, from the nature of the case, must be incapable of identification. On the other hand, he knows too little, because such knowledge of the past history of Jerusalem as he possesses is most often formless and unconnected, and he brings it to bear upon a site of which even the ancient contours have long since disappeared, and lie buried beneath the rubbish of ages, which represents the demolition of city upon city. What he needs is the guidance of some one at once scholar and historian, archæologist and poet; some one in whom the vivid imagination of the artist is tempered by the sane caution of the critic, who has the learning and the acumen to weigh and to appreciate the results of topographical investigation when tried by the information afforded by ancient writers, and at the same time the literary skill to make the past rise again out of the stones and dust, and to kindle in his reader something of his own enthusiasm and interest.

Such a combination of qualities can rarely be realised in a single individual; yet we may claim to find them all in due measure in Prof. George Adam Smith, whose long-expected work on Jerusalem is now before us in two handsome volumes of some 1100 pages. Here we have an ideal guide to the study of ancient Jerusalem. The first volume falls into two books, the former of which deals at length with the topography, and is prefaced by a careful consideration of the geological formation of the site, and the possible influence of earthquakes as affecting the existence or location of the sources of water-supply. In Book II the economic problems and internal administration of ancient Jerusalem are treated in detail; and

the way is thus fully prepared for the history of the city, which forms Book III, occupying the whole of the second volume. In this volume Dr Smith takes us from the Jerusalem of 1400 B.C., as known from the El-Amarna letters, down to the Jerusalem of the New Testament.

But Dr Smith's work, while it stands first, is not the only recent contribution to the literature dealing with the topography and history of ancient Jerusalem. The past year or two have been remarkable for the number of books on the subject which have appeared; and the variety of conflicting opinions which these exhibit serves to show how far students stand removed from a general unanimity upon crucial questions of topography. The reader who takes the pains to work through this mass of literature may well feel bewildered long before he reaches the end of his task, and may doubt whether the available evidence is really sufficient to justify any assurance of opinion upon the questions which come under debate.

Yet the state of affairs is not really so hopeless as it might at first sight appear to be. As regards the main question of debate—the site of the ancient Zion—those who have approached the subject from the standpoint of Biblical scholarship have reached a practical measure of unanimity; and they have on their side many of the most distinguished among modern explorers. Those who take a different view are for the most part men whose interest has been awakened by residence at Jerusalem of some duration and by personal exploration, but who have not gone through a preliminary training in the language and exegesis of the Old Testament. Since these investigators are responsible for many discoveries of ancient remains, it is clear that they possess a strong claim to be heard. Still, it is probably not unfair to conclude that the method of study in which the survey of the site comes prior to a comparison of the Biblical evidence runs the risk of forcing this evidence to fit in with a preconceived theory in face of difficulties which cannot be overlooked by the trained scholar. At any rate, it is certain that among the explorers there does not exist the same measure of unanimity as is found among the scholars.

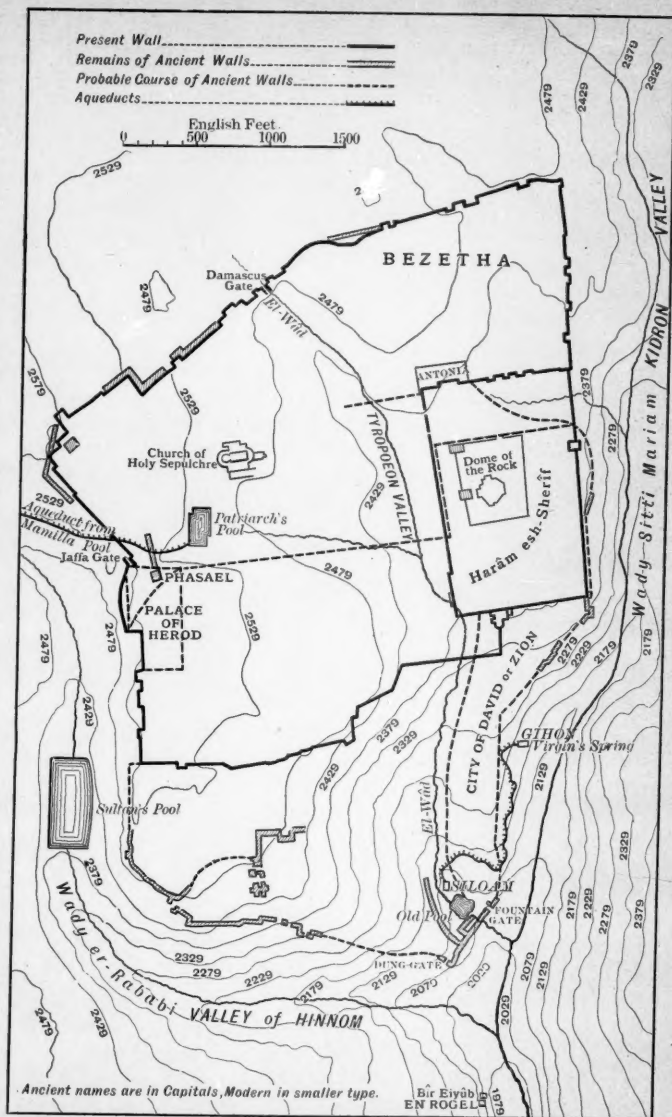
The site of Jerusalem consists of two hills or promontories running out from the northern plateau, deeply

entrenched to the east, south and west by their surrounding valleys, and divided from each other in ancient times by another valley with steep sides and of a considerable depth. The eastern valley begins in a slight depression to the N.E. of the city, which is known as the Wady ej-Jôz, and, running S.E. and then due S., it rapidly sinks as it passes between the eastern hill of Jerusalem on the W. and the Jebel et-Tur on the E., inclining finally towards the S.S.W. The main course of this valley is named the Wady Sitti Mariam. On the western side the city is bounded by a valley called the Wady er-Rabâbi. This valley gradually deepens as it runs S., and then, curving eastward, runs nearly due E. and forms the southern boundary of the site, joining the Wady Sitti Mariam to the S.E. The two valleys so united become the Wady en-Nâr, which descends steeply towards the Dead Sea.

The central site thus formed by these two valleys is bisected by a valley called El-Wâd, which begins north of the Damascus gate and runs generally in a southerly direction, but with a crescent-shaped curve, first S.S.E. and then S.S.W. Finally, inclining once more S.S.E., El-Wâd joins the Wady Sitti Mariam near its point of junction with the Wady er-Rabâbi. At the present day El-Wâd is so filled with *débris* that it appears to be merely an inconsiderable depression running through the heart of the city; but borings which have been made down to the bed-rock prove that originally it had a depth of from twenty to sixty feet below its present level. Several smaller valleys run into El-Wâd from the west, the most important of which starts near the present Jaffa gate and follows the line of David street, but is now so choked up as to be scarcely apparent. Dr Smith describes the site as follows (i, 32):—

‘The two rocky promontories running south from the plateau, with the valley El-Wâd between them, form the site of the city proper. On the north they merge across its head in the plateau. . . . Of the two promontories, that between the Wâdies Sitti Mariam and El-Wâd is known, in the topography of Jerusalem, as the East Hill; that between El-Wâd and Er-Rabâbi as the West Hill. The West Hill is the higher and more extended of the two, overlooking, and on the south over-reaching, the end of the other. The two may be roughly likened to a thumb and forefinger pointing

MAP OF JERUSALEM.



[To face page 76.]



south, the latter somewhat curved. The hand in which they merge to the north is the plateau.'

As to the identification of these features of the site with the valleys and hills of ancient Jerusalem, opinion stands thus. The Wady Sitti Mariam is generally recognised as the valley of the Kidron. The Kidron is the only valley in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem which Old Testament writers describe as a *nahal*—a term regularly used to denote either a precipitous ravine forming the bed of a winter brook, and dry during the summer months, or the brook itself which flows down such a ravine after the rains of winter. The Wady Sitti Mariam answers to this description. A certain amount of water still flows down it after heavy rain; and more is to be found under the *débris* which at present fills its bottom. Doubtless it must have carried a larger supply before the issue of the spring called the 'Ain Sitti Mariam, or Virgin's Spring, on the eastern slope of the eastern hill of Jerusalem, was diverted in ancient times to the pool of Silwân. All Biblical references to the valley or stream of the Kidron are suited by this identification.

There is a great measure of agreement that the Wady er-Rabâbi is the valley of Hinnom. This valley is called in Hebrew a *gai*, and not a *nahal*, i.e., a somewhat narrow glen between mountains, which does not form the bed of a winter brook. Such a term is most appropriate to the Wady er-Rabâbi; and the identification is accepted by most students. The view has been maintained that Gê Hinnom corresponds to El-Wâd; but this identification is absolutely precluded by the description in Josh. xv, 8, xviii, 16 of the boundary-line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, where the valley is said to run south of 'the cliff of the Jebusites'; whereas El-Wâd, as we have seen, runs in the main north and south. On the other hand, the lower course of the Wady er-Rabâbi, running from west to east and lying due south of the western hill of Jerusalem, agrees in this respect, as in all others, with the details of the description.

El-Wâd is commonly held to correspond with the Tyropoeon valley, which Josephus ('War,' v, 4:1) describes as separating the hill of the Upper City from that of the Lower, and extending as far as Siloam. It is, however, disputed whether the Tyropoeon corresponded through-

out with the main course of El-Wâd, or, in its upper course, with one of the lateral branches which, as we have noticed, run into it from the west. It is maintained by some that the Tyropoeon commenced in the branch-valley which originally ran along the line of the modern David Street, and then turned south and had its continuation in the lower part of El-Wâd. This theory is bound up with a particular view as to the site of the ancient Zion; and, apart from the exigencies of this latter, nothing can be urged in its favour. As Dr Paton remarks:

'It is not too much to say that the northern branch extending from the Damascus gate is the only valley that one would naturally think of as the Tyropoeon, and that other identifications are due, not to anything in Josephus' description, but rather to traditional notions concerning the hills of Jerusalem' (p. 28).

That the eastern hill of Jerusalem was the site of the successive temples of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod is recognised by an unbroken tradition among Jews, Christians and Mohammedans, and is beyond dispute. The sacred area of the Harâm esh-Sherîf, or 'Noble Sanctuary,' situated on this hill, is formed by an artificially raised and levelled platform; and Josephus informs us ('War,' v, 5: 1) that 'at first the highest level ground on the hill was hardly sufficient for the temple and the altar, for the ground about it was precipitous and steep,' but that Solomon and the people of succeeding ages raised embankments so that the hill was levelled and broadened. The highest point of the hill within the Temple area is marked by the sacred rock over which now stands the Kubbet es-Sakhra, or 'Dome of the Rock.' This rock, which the Mohammedans regard as possessing a sanctity second only to the shrine of Mecca, is usually regarded as the site of the altar of burnt-offering; and, if this is so, the Temple must have stood due west of it, with its entrance facing eastward.

As to the site of Mount Zion, opinion is still divided, this being indeed the *vexatissima quæstio* of Jerusalem topography. A tradition which can be traced as far back as the fourth century of the Christian era makes Zion the southern part of the western hill, which, as we have noticed, is higher and larger than the eastern hill on

which the Temple stood. Closer study, however, of the evidence afforded by the Old Testament and the Apocrypha has proved that the name Zion was applied to the whole eastern hill, including the portion upon which the Temple stood; and that the Jebusite fortress captured by David and named by him the City of David—or, as Dr Smith renders it, David's Burgh—must have stood upon the southern spur of the eastern hill, which is identified as Ophel, south of the modern Ḥarâm area. The great majority of Biblical students, appreciating the strength of the evidence, have for some time past adopted the newer view; and Dr Smith's admirably full and lucid discussion of the subject may be thought finally to have settled the question. The evidence upon which the modern view is based may also be found excellently summarised in Dr Paton's little book, which appeared shortly after Dr Smith's work. That the supporters of the traditional view have not, however, as yet been gained over is evident from the fact that both Dr Merrill and Col. Conder, in their books named at the head of this article, appear as uncompromising champions of the western hill as the site of Zion.

The question is closely bound up with the location of the ancient sources of water supply, especially with those of Gihon and En-Rogel. That Gihon is to be identified with the modern 'Ain Sitti Mariam or Virgin's spring, on the eastern slope of the Ophel spur, admits of the clearest proof. The name Gihon means 'gusher,' and can only have been applied to a natural fountain. The Virgin's spring is the only spring in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and, owing to the existence of a natural syphon within the cavity from which it issues, the flow of waters comes intermittently, with a sudden gush at irregular intervals. We learn from 2 Chron. xxxii, 30 that King Hezekiah, in order to improve the water supply of his capital, 'stopped the upper spring of the waters of Gihon, and brought them straight down to the west of the City of David.' There still exists an ancient tunnel hewn out of the rock, which carries the water of the Virgin's spring down to Birket Silwân, i.e., the ancient pool of Shiloah, a distance of 586 yards as the tunnel winds, though only 368 yards in a straight line. At the mouth of the tunnel, where it opens into Shiloah, there was discovered in 1880

an inscription in the old Hebrew character which records the way in which the tunnel was hewn by two gangs of workmen, who quarried from either end and met in the middle. The inscription is, in the main, perfectly clear, and reads as follows, the words in brackets being supplied by conjecture :

1. [Behold] the piercing through! And this was the manner of the piercing through. Whilst yet [the miners were lifting up]
2. the pick each towards his fellow, and whilst yet there were three cubits to be [cut through, there was heard] the voice of each call—
3. ing to his fellow ; for there was a fissure(?) in the rock on the right hand. . . . And on the day of the
4. piercing through, the miners smote each so as to meet his fellow, pick against pick ; and there flowed
5. the water from the source to the pool 1200 cubits ; and one hun—
6. dred cubits was the height of the rock over the head of the miners.

Col. Conder, who has explored the course of the tunnel, claims to have discovered the point at which the meeting was effected by the two parties of miners by means of a cross-cut about four feet long from east to west (p. 66).*

The pool of Shiloah has no source of supply except the water which flows down the tunnel from the Virgin's spring ; but we know from a reference which occurs in Isa. viii, 6 to 'the waters of Shiloah which go softly,' that Shiloah must already have existed as a receptacle for water in the reign of Ahaz. There are traces of a surface-aqueduct leading from the Virgin's spring to Shiloah ; probably this was the ancient source of supply before the tunnel was constructed by Hezekiah to ensure a better provision in case of siege. In Isa. xxii, 1-14, which seems to belong to the occasion of Sennacherib's invasion in B.C. 701, the prophet describes the hasty preparations made by the inhabitants of Jerusalem against the expected siege of the city ; and we read : 'Ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool. . . . Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool' (vv. 9, 11). This may indicate that

* See also Mommert, pp. 54 ff.

the water originally flowed by the surface-conduit into the lower pool of Shiloah or Birket el-Ḥamrâ, now dry and unused; and that the reservoir between the two walls, i.e., the present Birket Silwân or upper pool, was specially constructed by Hezekiah to receive the water which flowed through his new tunnel.

Thus the case for the identification of Gihon with the Virgin's spring is remarkably strong.* Before accepting it, however, we must briefly consider the rival claim which has been advanced in favour of En-Rogel. The attempted identification of En-Rogel with the Virgin's spring is based mainly on the fact that 'the stone of Zoheleth' is stated in 1 Kings, i, 9 to have been beside En-Rogel; and M. Clermont-Ganneau has proposed to identify Zoheleth with the modern Arabic Zahwele, which is the name given to a steep, rocky descent from the village of Silwân, on the east of the Kidron valley and opposite the Virgin's spring. The identification however, can scarcely be maintained. Zahwele is not 'beside' the Virgin's spring, but opposite across the valley. Moreover, the resemblance in name seems to be merely accidental; the Hebrew Zoheleth probably meaning 'serpent,' while Zahwele in the modern Arabic vulgar dialect is used to denote a slippery descent such as that which comes down from Silwân.† In the narrative of 1 Kings, i, Adonijah and his supporters are at En-Rogel whilst Solomon is conducted down to Gihon for his anointing. Thus, if the identification of the Virgin's spring with Gihon is correct, it is impossible that the same spring should also correspond to En-Rogel.

There can be little doubt that En-Rogel is the modern Bîr-Eiyûb, a deep well situated at the junction of the Wady Sitti Mariam with the Wady er-Rabâbi. The objection to this identification on the ground that Bîr-Eiyûb is a *well* (as is denoted by the Arabic *Bîr*), whilst the name En-Rogel implies a *spring*, appears to be groundless. Bîr-Eiyûb, though not a true spring, is replenished by percolation; and the ancient Judaeans

* The arguments by which Dr Mommert (*op. cit.*) seeks to assign the Siloam tunnel to Solomon, and to identify Gihon with the Mamilla pool, altogether fail to carry conviction.

† Kittel, 'Der Schlangenstein,' p. 181.

observing the water to rise in the well from an underground source, may very well have described it as a spring. The distinction between *well* (Hebrew *bē'ēr* = Arabic *bīr*) and *spring* (Hebrew *'ayin* = Arabic *'ain*) is not always observed in Hebrew, as may be seen by comparison of v. 11 with v. 13 in Gen. xxiv. The identification of Bīr-Eiyûb with En-Rogel suits all Biblical references to the letter; and especially is it appropriate to the mention of En-Rogel as one of the points upon the boundary-line between Judah and Benjamin, the position of Bīr-Eiyûb at the junction of the Kidron valley with the valley of Hinnom making it a natural point to notice in such a connexion. In Josh. xv, 7, 8, the northern boundary of Judah, described from east to west, goes up the valley of Hinnom after touching En-Rogel. In Josh. xviii, 16, the southern boundary of Benjamin, described from west to east, goes down the valley of Hinnom which lies to the south of 'the cliff of the Jebusite,' and so reaches En-Rogel.

If, then, as seems certain, Gihon corresponds to the Virgin's spring, we have here an important point in proof of the contention that the City of David stood on the southern spur of the eastern hill, to the south of the present Harâm area. As Dr Smith argues, the command of such a spring was an important consideration in the choice of a site for an ancient hill-fortress. And this inference, suggested by the physical features of the site, is confirmed by Biblical references which bring Gihon directly into close connexion with the City of David. Hezekiah, as we have seen, when he stopped the old issue of the Gihon spring, brought the waters down 'to the west of the City of David'; i.e., assuming, as the remains of ancient walls warrant us in doing, that the old city ran southward down the slope of the spur, the water was carried down to Shiloah, which lay to the west of the southern end of the city (2 Chron. xxxii, 30).

The interpretation of the expression which we render 'to the west of the City of David' has been disputed; and Dr Merrill, Colonel Conder, and even Dr Smith render westwards to the city of David, Colonel Conder claiming the support of the late Prof. A. B. Davidson, who, he tells us (p. 41), wrote to him that 'this is the natural translation of the words.' This however cannot be admitted.

Literally rendered, the words mean 'westwards as regards the City of David'; and the same expression is used in 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14, which undoubtedly means that Manasseh 'built an outer wall to the City of David to the west of Gihon in the ravine,' and not 'westwards towards Gihon.' The construction may be further illustrated by 2 Chron. v, 12, where the Levites stand 'east as regards the altar,' i.e., 'to the east of the altar.' In 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14, Dr Smith renders the expression in accordance with this explanation, and thus is inconsistent with his rendering in 2 Chron. xxxii, 30.

If Manasseh built a wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the ravine, this can only be explained as an eastern wall to the old city running along the slope of the south-eastern hill above the spring of Gihon, and so to its west. Dr Merrill, in order to escape the conclusion which must follow from these references to Gihon in close connexion with the City of David, maintains the impossible view that Gihon is to be identified with the reservoir to the west of Jerusalem which is known as the Birket Mamilla, and fails to show how this can be described as 'in the ravine' (*nahal*)—a term which is regularly applied to the Kidron valley.

The same conclusion as to the site of the City of David follows from Nehemiah's descriptions of the course of the walls (Neh. iii, 15, 16, xii, 37), where 'the stairs of the City of David,' and the palace and sepulchres of David are placed between the pool of Shelah (i.e. Shiloah) and the Temple area. It is stated in 2 Sam. v, 7 and elsewhere that the City of David was identical with the stronghold of Zion. A number of passages in the Prophets (both pre- and post-exilic) and in the Psalms speak of Zion as the place of God's abode, or as His holy hill—language which can only be naturally interpreted as meaning that, in the view of the writers, Zion was the site of the Temple; i.e., the whole eastern hill, with the City of David at its southern end and the Temple to the north, was named Mount Zion. The advocates of the traditional site for Zion on the western hill explain these references by supposing that the use of the name Zion was extended by poetical licence to include the whole of Jerusalem. If it be granted that this explanation is possible, there still remain a number of passages in the

narrative of 1 Maccabees in which Zion is specified as the Temple hill in such a way as to exclude the possibility of the use of the name in a general sense. Thus we read in 1 Macc. iv, 37, 38, that 'all the army was gathered together, and they went up unto Mount Zion. And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest, or as on one of the mountains, and the priests' chambers pulled down.' 1 Macc. v, 54 states that 'they went up to Mount Zion with gladness and joy, and offered whole burnt offerings.' We may compare also vii. 32, xiv, 27, 48.* We learn further from 1 Macc. i, 33 ff., that the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes, having sacked and burned Jerusalem, 'builded the City of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them an Akra (citadel).' Herein was stationed a garrison well equipped with arms and provisions, so that 'it became a place to lie in wait in against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel continually.' For many years after this the Akra held out against the Maccabean patriots, defying all their efforts to capture it.†

This allusion to the Syrian Akra as built upon the site of the City of David may lead us to a consideration of the evidence of Josephus as to the topography of Jerusalem. This is somewhat ambiguous, and is interpreted in different ways by Dr Paton and Dr Smith; the former claiming it unreservedly as evidence for the modern view of the site of Zion, while the latter considers that it is responsible for the traditional view which places Zion on the south-western hill. The most important passage is found in 'War,' v, 4 : 1. Here Josephus' account is as follows :

'The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder, which valley forms a break in the continuous rows of houses on both hills. Of these hills, that which contained the Upper City is much higher, and straighter as regards its length. Accordingly,

* The name 'Mount Moriah,' as applied to the Temple hill, is derived from the late statement of the Chronicler (2 Chron. iii, 1), which seems to be based upon the mention of 'the land of Moriah' in Gen. xxii, 2, together with the (much later) play upon the name in verse 14 in connexion with 'the Mount of the Lord.' Apart from these two passages, the name Moriah does not occur throughout the Old Testament.

† Smith, i, pp. 157 ff.

on account of its strength, it was called Phrourion by King David . . . but by us the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Akra, and sustained the Lower City, is of the shape of a horned moon. Over against this there is a third hill, naturally lower than the Akra, and separated formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Hasmoneans reigned, they filled up the valley with earth with a view to joining the city to the Temple, and reduced the height of the Akra and made it lower, that the Temple might be superior to it also.'

Here it is clear that the higher hill containing the Upper City is the western hill, while the other hill of the shape of a horned moon answers accurately, as regards its form, to the eastern hill. The dividing valley is the Tyropoeon. Thus the Akra is placed by Josephus upon the same site as in 1 Maccabees, viz., the site of the City of David. The third hill is clearly, from the context, the Temple hill. Hence, according to Josephus, the northern part of the eastern hill was formerly separated from the southern part by a valley, which was subsequently filled up through reduction of the height of Akra.

The other passage of importance is 'Antiquities,' vii, 3: 1, 2, which describes David's capture of the Jebusite city. This states that David

'took the Lower City by force, but the Akra held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he would give the command of the entire people to the man who should first scale the Akra by the gullies which were beneath it and capture it. So, all being ambitious to scale it, and not shrinking from undergoing any toil out of their desire for the chief command, Joab, the son of Zeruiah, preceded the rest, and, as soon as he had ascended, cried out to the king and claimed the chief command. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the Akra and had also rebuilt Jerusalem, he named it the City of David, and abode there all the time of his reign. . . . David, having taken possession of the Upper City and joined the Akra to it, made it one body; and having encompassed it with walls, he appointed Joab guardian of the walls. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem and named the city after himself.'

Dr Paton (p. 52), after giving this quotation, remarks,

'In this passage Josephus identifies the City of David with the Akra, and regards it as part of the Lower City, which he contrasts with the Upper City.' This does not seem to be correct. Josephus applies the name 'City of David' to the whole Jerusalem of David's time as he conceives it, viz., the Upper City, i.e., the south-western hill, and the Akra or Lower City, i.e., the south-eastern hill. On the other hand, Dr Smith (i, 161 f.) selects the passage, 'he took the Lower City by force, but the citadel (Akra) held out still,' and comparing it with the passage from 'War,' which states that the stronger hill 'was called the Fort (Phrourion) by King David,' assumes that citadel and fort are identical, and that both are placed by Josephus on the south-western hill and equated with the City of David. But not only does Josephus, in the passage from 'War,' and several times elsewhere, state that Akra was the Lower City, i.e., the south-eastern hill, but he also implies as much in the passage from 'Antiquities' which we have quoted, and on which Dr Smith relies, when he says that David joined the Akra to the Upper City, i.e., the south-western hill.

Certainly the statement 'he took the Lower City,' etc., seems to contrast the Akra with the Lower City; but we are not justified, on the ground of this alone, in supposing that Josephus here means by Akra the Upper City, contrary to his invariable use of the term elsewhere; and we must conclude either that he here distinguishes the Lower City from Akra and places both on the south-eastern hill, or, as seems more probable, that 'Lower City' in this passage is an error for 'Upper City.' If this is so, Josephus is right in placing the citadel captured by David on the south-eastern hill, but wrong in supposing that the narrative of 2 Sam. v, 6 ff. implies that the Jebusite city occupied both south-eastern and south-western hills, and that the name 'City of David' included the whole of this area.

This review of the evidence for the site of Zion on the south-eastern hill—long in proportion to the length of this article, though too short for anything like a complete presentation of the argument—has been necessary because our whole conception of ancient Jerusalem is bound up with a right understanding of this most import-

ant question. In view of the statements of our ancient written sources, it is futile to argue for the south-western hill as the true site upon the *a priori* ground that it offers a superior strategical position and overtops the south-eastern hill. This latter hill, well entrenched on all sides but the north by its surrounding valleys, and commanding the only natural spring possessed by the site, has gained the support of military experts as offering advantages superior to those of the south-western hill for a hill-fortress such as the citadel of the Jebusites must have been. Sir Charles Wilson, quoted by Dr Smith (i, p. 137), says:

'The western spur is broad-backed, and, so far as the original form is known, there is no broken ground or conspicuous feature upon it that would be naturally selected as the site of a castle such as those usually erected for the protection of an ancient hill-town.'

Certainly the Temple hill now dominates the south-eastern spur from the north; but we have the evidence of Josephus* that the Hasmoneans 'dugged down' and 'rased the Akra,' in order that it might not dominate the Temple, and also filled up a valley which lay between the Akra and the Temple hill, traces of which valley Dr Guthe claims to have discovered by borings made down to the rock.† It is true that it is improbable that the south-eastern spur can ever have overtopped the site of the Temple; but this also is in accordance with the evidence of the Old Testament, for Solomon 'brings up' the Ark from the City of David to the Temple (1 Kings viii, 1), and Pharaoh's daughter 'goes up' from the City of David to her palace built by Solomon in the close vicinity of the Temple court (1 Kings ix, 24).

Other questions of topography mainly connect themselves with the extent of the city walls of Jerusalem at various periods, and are best touched upon in a brief notice of the history. Our earliest knowledge of Jerusalem shows it to have been a fortified city, holding an important position among the similar small cities of southern Syria. The city and its ruler figure in the

* 'War,' i, 2 : 2; v, 4 : 1; 'Ant.' xiii, 6 : 7; see Smith, i, p. 159.

† Smith, i, p. 167; Paton, p. 47.

cuneiform tablets which were discovered in 1887 at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, the ruins of the ancient city Akhetaton, built by Amenhotep IV of the 18th Egyptian dynasty (about 1375 B.C.). This king, probably under the influence of his mother and wife, both of whom came from Mitanni in Northern Mesopotamia, abandoned the worship of the gods of Egypt in favour of the worship of the solar disk (Aton), at the same time changing his name to Ikhnaton ('spirit of Aton'). Ikhnaton removed his capital from Thebes and founded a new city some 300 miles lower down the Nile, and about 160 miles above the Delta, to which he gave the name Akhetaton ('horizon of Aton').* At this time the language of diplomacy and commerce in Western Asia was the Babylonian; and correspondence was carried on in the cuneiform script, written upon clay tablets. The tablets discovered at El-Amarna are some of them addressed to Amenhotep III, the father of Ikhnaton, but the majority to Ikhnaton himself.† The reign of Ikhnaton witnessed the steady decline of the suzerainty which Egypt had exercised over Syria since the victorious campaigns of Thothmes III in the preceding century; and letters from the petty native princes and governors of Syria speak of the growing spirit of disaffection towards Egypt, or beg for assistance in the face of open revolt.

Six of these letters are addressed to the King of Egypt by Abdihiba, governor of Jerusalem. Abdihiba stands for the King's interests in Southern Syria; but he stands almost alone and cannot hold out much longer. A hostile people named Habiri—a name which may be equivalent to 'Hebrews,' i.e., immigrant 'tribes from beyond Jordan,' though not necessarily Israelites—are making rapid encroachments on the country, and gaining support from those who ought to be faithful to Egypt. Abdihiba him-

* See, for an account of this revolution, 'Quarterly Review,' No. 418 (Jan. 1909), on 'Religion and Empire in Ancient Egypt,' pp. 44 ff.

† The most recent edition of the el-Amarna letters is that of J. A. Knudtzon, 'Die El-Amarna Tafeln' (1908), which takes the place of H. Winckler's edition (1896) as the standard edition for scholars. The letters of Abdihiba of Jerusalem may be read in an English translation in C. J. Ball's 'Light from the East' (1899), pp. 89-93. Readers of Colonel Conder's book must be warned against placing any reliance upon his translations from the Babylonian (pp. 32 ff., 68), as these are unfortunately vitiated throughout by serious elementary mistakes.

self has been accused of sedition, but the charge is false. He owes his position entirely to the King of Egypt, and could have no interest in undermining his authority.

'What have I done unto the King my Lord? They slander me before the King my Lord. "Abdihiba hath revolted against the King his Lord!" Behold, as for me, it was not my father or my mother who set me in this place; the mighty arm of the King caused me to enter into my father's house. Why then should I do evil against the King my Lord? As the King my Lord liveth, I say to the high commissioner of the King my Lord, "Wherefore lovest thou the Habiri and hatest the vassal-princes?" And because of *that* they slander me to the King my Lord. Whenever one saith, "It is all over with the King my Lord's dominions," because of *that* they slander me to the King my Lord.' 'Knudtzon,' pp. 859 ff.

As we read these actual letters of a prince of Jerusalem—letters written nearly two hundred years before the Israelite invasion of Canaan under Joshua—they bring home to us with wonderful vividness the situation of the times: the local dissensions among the petty princes of Canaan, and their intriguing against their far-off suzerain while they write to him letters full of protestations of fidelity and accusations against their neighbours. Three seditious cities are singled out by Abdihiba—Gezer, Askelon, and Lachish. He himself may not have been so faithful as he professes to be; but at any rate there is a ring of sincerity in the advice which he gives the King:

'Let the King my Lord turn his attention to troops, and let him send forth the troops of the King my Lord. There are no dominions left to the King: the Habiri have plundered all the King's dominions. If there be troops this year, there shall be dominions for the King my Lord; but if there be no troops, it is all over with the King my Lord's dominions' (ib. p. 863).

We may notice, too, the final appeal of one of the letters: 'Behold the King hath set his name upon Jerusalem for ever, and he cannot forsake the territory of Jerusalem' (ib. p. 867). Four of the letters end with a postscript addressed to the scribe whose duty it doubtless was to read and interpret the letters to the King of Egypt. One such we may quote as illustrating Abdihiba's

anxiety that the importance of his appeal should not be overlooked: 'To the King my Lord's secretary, thus (saith) Abdihiha thy bond-servant. Bring thou in plain words unto the King my Lord. It is all over with the King my Lord's dominions' (ib. p. 863).

When the Israelites invaded Canaan, Jerusalem, like many others of the fortified towns, was too strong to be captured by them. This we learn from the statements of the old narrative of Josh. xv, 63, Judges i, 21, and from the story of Judges xix, where the Levite, though overtaken by nightfall when close to Jebus (i.e. Jerusalem), refuses to shelter in 'the city of a stranger that is not of the children of Israel' (vv. 11, 12), and pushes on to Gibeah. The statement of Judges i, 7, which seems to indicate that the city passed into the hands of Judah in the early days of the Judges, comes from a later writer, in whose view the Israelite conquest of Canaan was far more thorough and immediate than the older narrative proves it actually to have been.

As we have already observed, the conquest of the Jebusite city was one of the achievements of David's reign, which is dated about 1000 B.C. The fortress standing above its precipitous ravines was counted so impregnable by the inhabitants that they are said to have boasted that the blind and lame could hold it against David; but, so far as we can gather from the narrative (which is very obscure at this point), it seems to have been taken by a storming party, which scrambled up 'the gutter' or 'water-course' which lay below the city (2 Sam. v, 6-8). Possibly this 'gutter' may have been the ancient shaft which has been discovered leading down to the Gihon spring as a means of reaching it from within the city.* Having captured the stronghold, David made it his headquarters, and named it 'David's Burgh.' Building operations, which he undertook to increase its defensive strength, are connected with 'the Millo' (2 Sam. v, 9). The character and site of the Millo (which is mentioned also in connexion with Solomon's buildings, 1 Kings ix, 15) can only be conjectured. If the name is derived from a Hebrew root, it would naturally denote something which 'fills' or 'banks up,' i.e., an earthwork or massive

* Smith, i, 106; Paton, 75.

fortress or tower built into that part of the city wall where such protection was specially needed—possibly shielding the approach from the north.

The meaning of the name Zion, applied to David's Burgh (2 Sam. v, 7), is very doubtful; but Dr Smith (i, 145) quotes evidence from the Arabic which suggests that it may mean 'protuberance' or 'summit of a ridge,' and so 'fort' or 'citadel.' This explanation, however plausible, is at best a somewhat hazardous conjecture; and Dr Smith's readers must beware of regarding as an established conclusion the easy transition by which Zion becomes 'exactly synonymous' with the term Ophel, which is elsewhere used in connexion with the old fortress, and which, according to Dr Smith (i, 152), 'signifies "lump" or "swelling," and was applied in Hebrew to a mound, knoll, or hill, in one case with a wall round it.' It is true that Ophel should naturally denote something 'swelling'; and the usual assumption is that it refers to a knoll upon the spur on which David's Burgh was built, which was dug down in later times by the Hasmoneans when they rased the Akra. But a careful survey of the use of the term, in this connexion and elsewhere, rather suggests that it was applied to an *artificial* swelling, i.e., probably the rounded keep or *enceinte* of the citadel.* At present the name Ophel is conventionally applied to the whole of the eastern spur south of the Harâm area.

The natural features of the south-eastern spur make it probable that David's Burgh may have occupied an area nearly equivalent to that of the ancient Gezer as determined by the excavations of Mr Macalister; and it is noteworthy that Gezer figures in the Amarna letters as a city of apparently similar importance.† David's Burgh may have had a circumference of about 4250 feet, while Gezer's walls measured approximately 4500 feet round.‡ Traces of the ancient wall and rock-scarps upon which it was built have been discovered by Dr Bliss on the southern and eastern sides of the eastern hill, though no traces have as yet been found on the western side above the Tyropoeon valley.

* Cf. the writer's 'Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings,' pp. 282 ff.

† Knudtzon, p. 865.

‡ Smith, i, 142 ff.

Dr Smith thus describes the aspect which the city must have presented in David's day.

'Standing, then, on the Mount of Olives, we may discern the following to have been the aspect of Jerusalem under David. Where the great Temple platform is now spread upon large substructions, there was a rocky summit with a small plateau, the threshing-floor of Araunah. The southern flank of this fell steeply to the northern fortifications of David's Burgh with (according to some) the Millo, a solid bulwark or tower. A narrow gateway opened on the north on a steep descent to Gihon; and the road from this turned northwards for a little, with a few houses straggling up it till the Far-house was reached, and then crossed the Kidron. Within the walls stood the Stronghold, the small house of David, the house of the Gibbôrîm, with some other buildings, and close to the king's house the Tent of the Ark. Some further open space there must have been for the later graves of the kings. The wall compassed Ophel, with one principal gate, at probably the lower end of Ophel, from which the houses thickly climbed towards the citadel' (ii, 45 f.).

With this picture before us, we may notice such references as indicate the additions which were made to David's Burgh in later times. It is unlikely that any part of the south-western hill was enclosed with a wall in David's day, though it is probable that there were houses upon it. The cliff or slope (lit. 'shoulder') of the Jebusites, mentioned in Josh. xv, 8, xviii, 16, is most easily explained as referring to the south-western hill; and it may have been so named as inhabited by the Jebusites whom David had expelled from the fortified city, but who were apparently allowed (if we may judge from the case of Araunah) to dwell peaceably in the immediate vicinity of David's Burgh. Dr Paton (p. 76) draws an inference from the fact that

'2 Sam. xiv, 28 states that Absalom dwelt two full years in Jerusalem and saw not the King's face. If the Jerusalem of David was limited to the small area of the south-east hill, it is difficult to see how Absalom could reside there without coming into contact with his father. If, however, the city extended to the western hill, he might be banished from the palace-quarter and still reside in the capital. . . . On the whole, the evidence seems favourable to the idea that settlements on the western hill were in existence as early as the time of David;

but there is no evidence that the western hill was inclosed with a wall at this early date. The fact that no buildings on the western hill are mentioned indicates that this region was still unprotected.'

The walling of the south-western suburb was most likely undertaken by Solomon. We learn that, when he had married Pharaoh's daughter, he 'brought her into the City of David until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the Lord, and the wall of Jerusalem round about' (1 Kings, iii, 1; cf. also ix, 15). The course of the city wall under Solomon is probably correctly described by Josephus ('War,' v, 4: 2) when he gives an account of 'the old wall,' which he attributes to 'David, Solomon, and the following kings.' Starting from Hippicus, the Herodian tower which stood in the position of the north-western tower in the present citadel near the Jaffa gate, he carries the line due east (along the line of the modern David Street) up to the western cloister of the Temple. Then returning to Hippicus, he traces the wall along a course which faced west and south, giving a description which shows that it ran round the south-western hill, curved past Siloam (which it apparently did not enclose), and reached 'a certain place which they call Ophel, where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple.

Besides walling in the new city, Solomon directed his attention to the repair of David's Burgh (1 Kings xi, 27). But by far his most important work was the building of the Temple and the palace buildings on the eastern hill immediately to the north of the old city. These buildings are described in great detail in 1 Kings v-vii. The most northerly was the Temple, which doubtless stood immediately to the west of the present 'Dome of the Rock.' That the Sakhra or sacred rock, now enclosed by the Dome, was the site of the altar of burnt-offering is held by most modern investigators. According to Dr Smith (ii, 60),

'the Rock itself bears proof of having been used as an altar. A channel penetrates from the surface to a little cave below, whence a conduit descends through the body of the Hill, obviously designed to carry off either the blood or the refuse of sacrifices. Similar arrangements are seen on other Semitic altars.'

* Cf. also the description, with diagrams, in Kittel, pp. 12-24.

The story of 2 Sam. xxiv, 25, 1 Chron. xxii, 1, regards David's altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah as the original of 'the altar of burnt-offering for Israel'; and such a threshing-floor would naturally be a more or less flat rocky summit freely exposed to the breeze.

Col. Conder (pp. 54 ff.) argues that the Sakhra was 'the stone of foundation' upon which, according to the Mishna, the Ark rested within the Holy of Holies, and objects to its identification as the site of the altar, on the ground that the rock-level commences to fall away immediately to the west of the Sakhra, at the point where, according to this latter view, the Temple must have stood. The fall, however, on the assumed Temple site is not great, and the level could easily have been banked up; and, apart from the indications that the Sakhra has been used as the site of an altar, the objections which can be advanced against making it the site of the Holy of Holies are very considerable.* The fact that the Temple stood west of the altar, with its entrance to the east and the Shrine or Holy of Holies to the west, is indicated by Ezek. viii, 16. Here the five-and-twenty men who are worshipping the sun stand between the Porch and the altar, with their backs to the Temple and their faces eastward.

Solomon's other buildings lay south of the Temple, and occupied what is now the southern portion of the Harâm area, the whole series rising apparently upon successive terraces from south to north. The Temple was enclosed in its own court; and, south of this, Solomon's house and the house of Pharaoh's daughter stood within 'the Other Court' or 'The Court of the Porch of the Palace.' South of this again stood the Throne Hall, the Hall of Pillars, and the House of the Forest of Lebanon; and all these buildings, including the two courts above-mentioned, were enclosed by the Great Court.†

There is little information bearing on the topography of Jerusalem between the reign of Solomon in the early part of the tenth century B.C. and the latter part of the eighth century. We have only to notice the fact that

* Smith, ii, 61, *note*.

† See 1 Kings vii, 9, 12, as emended by the present writer; quoted by Smith, ii, 69.

Joash of Israel, after defeating Amaziah of Judah (about B.C. 797) at Beth-Shemesh, pushed on to Jerusalem, and 'brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim unto the Corner gate, four hundred cubits' (2 Kings xiv, 13), i.e., a length of wall on the northern and least well-defended side of the city, probably up to the north-western corner near the site of the present Jaffa gate. It was this Corner gate which was fortified with towers by Uzziah, the succeeding king (2 Chron. xxvi, 9), as well as 'the gate of the Gai,' opening on Hinnom, probably somewhat to the south of the south-western corner of the city. The turning of the wall, which was similarly fortified, may have been at the eastern curve of the south-western hill, where remains have been discovered by Dr Bliss. Of Jotham, we learn that 'he built the upper gate of the House of the Lord, and on the wall of the Ophel he built much' (2 Chron. xxvii, 3). No consensus of opinion exists as to the site of 'the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field,' the scene of Isaiah's interview with Ahaz (Isa. vii, 3; B.C. 735), and the spot whence, in the momentous crisis of B.C. 701, the Assyrian Rabshakeh addressed Hezekiah's officers upon the wall (2 Kings, xviii, 17). Dr Smith discusses the question (i, 105, 114 ff, ii, 127), but forms no definite conclusion.

The Chronicler (2 Chron, xxxii, 4, 5) speaks of Hezekiah's repair of the walls and other preparations in view of the Assyrian invasion, mentioning the fact that the people of Jerusalem 'stopped all the fountains and the brook (*nahal*) which flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?' We have noticed that the term *nahal* is applied to the Kidron valley or to its stream; and this allusion strengthens the inference already drawn that, before the construction of the tunnel which carried the water of Gihon down to the pool of Shiloah, the overflow of the Gihon spring went to feed the stream of Kidron. The reference in Isa. xxii, 11 to 'the reservoir between the two walls' is probably to be explained by the fact that Shiloah lay at the mouth of the Tyropoeon valley and both south-western and south-eastern hills had walls running above the Tyropoeon (Paton, 107 f.). Remains, however, show that 'the main city wall crossed the mouth

of the Tyropoeon *below* both the pools of Siloam' (Smith, i, 221); and it seems obvious that, if this wall had not been built prior to the construction of Hezekiah's tunnel, it must have been included in the king's scheme so as to bring Shiloah within the city. The location of 'the two walls' at this point is attested by the fact that, when the city wall had been breached by Nebuchadnezzar (presumably from the north), King Zedekiah and all the men of war* fled 'by way of the gate between the two walls which was above the king's garden,' in order to escape in the direction of the Plains of Jericho (2 Kings xxv, 4, 5; cf. Neh. iii, 15). The gate most convenient for escape in this direction, and most remote from the besieging army, must have been the gate the remains of which have been discovered at the mouth of the Tyropoeon—probably the Fountain gate (Neh. xii, 37).

The account of the repair of the walls by Hezekiah reads (with slight necessary emendation) as follows: 'And he took courage, and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers,† and another wall without, and strengthened Millo in the City of David,' (2 Chron. xxxii, 5). Here the other wall is almost certainly Josephus' second north wall, which, he tells us, 'took its beginning from that gate which they called Genath, which belonged to the first wall, and, encompassing the northern quarter only, went up as far as Antonia' ('War,' v, 4: 2).

The position of the gate Genath (apparently 'Garden gate') is unknown; but it must have stood at some distance to the east of the tower Hippicus at the north-western corner of the old wall, since the third north wall, as described by Josephus, took its start from Hippicus. Herod's fortress of Antonia, by which Josephus marks the other end of the wall, is known to have stood where the barracks now stand at the north-western corner of the Harâm area. The fact that the wall 'went up' to Antonia doubtless indicates that it crossed the Tyropoeon valley and mounted the slope of the eastern hill (Smith, i, 248). Antonia was built by Herod to take the place of the Hasmonean Baris (Hebrew *Bîrâ*, 'fortress'); and

* On the text of the passage, cf. the present writer's note, *op. cit.*

† A.V. and R.V. The Vulgate has 'built towers thereon.'

this again probably stood at or about the site of the towers Hammeah and Hananel belonging to the second wall (Neh. iii, 1, xii, 39; cf. Jer. xxxi, 38).

Whether the second wall was older than Hezekiah depends largely upon whether we read 'the other wall' instead of 'another wall' in 2 Chron. xxxii, 5. If this was so, and it already existed in Amaziah's time, it may have been part of this wall that Joash of Israel broke down. Dr Smith, however, gives reasons (i, 202 ff.) for believing that the gate of Ephraim—the point from which Joash began his demolition—was not in the second, but in the first wall.

Manasseh contributed to the defences of Jerusalem by building 'an outer wall to the City of David, to the west of Gihon in the ravine, even to the entering in at the Fish gate.' Thus 'he compassed about the Ophel,' and also 'raised it up to a very great height' (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14). We know from Neh. iii, 1-3, xii, 39 that the Fish gate was in the second north wall to the west of the towers Hammeah and Hananel, and so probably at or near the upper course of the Tyropoeon. Traces of this 'outer wall to the City of David' have with great probability been discovered outside the present east wall of the Harâm area; and it seems likely that it turned north-west a little to the north of the present Golden gate, following the natural line of a branch of the Kidron valley, and so reached the site of the two towers (i.e., the later Antonia) and the Fish gate beyond them (Smith, i, 235 ff.). From the allusion in Zeph. i, 10 to the Fish gate in connexion with a part of the city which was called the Mishneh or 'Second (city),' we gather that this name was applied to the new quarter enclosed by Hezekiah's north wall. The Mishneh is also mentioned in the account of the circumstances which led to Josiah's reformation (2 Kings xxii, 14).

Jerusalem, thus defined, was the city taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 586; and these were the walls which Nehemiah set himself to repair on his visit to the city about B.C. 445, nearly one hundred years after the edict of Cyrus had permitted the return of the first band of Jewish exiles. Nehemiah gives an account of his inspection of the ruined walls with some amount of detail (Neh. ii, 12-16). Leaving the city at night by

the gate of the Gai, at some point in the south wall 1000 cubits (i.e. about 500 yards) from the Dung gate (Neh. iii, 13), he set out in the direction of the Dragon's spring. This spring, not mentioned elsewhere under this name, is probably the same as En-Rogel, in proximity to which there was a Serpent-stone (1 Kings i, 9). Nehemiah thus followed the course of the valley of Hinnom to the Dung gate at the south-eastern corner of the western hill. At this point he stopped and surveyed the ruined walls and gates of Jerusalem. Then he 'crossed over'—evidently across the mouth of the Tyropoeon valley, and reached the Fountain gate and the King's pool (Shiloah) on the other side, intending apparently to proceed up the south-eastern hill and view the walls from the inside. This, however, proving impracticable owing to the masses of stones and rubbish, he turned into the valley (*nahal*), i.e., the Kidron, and, riding up it, continued his inspection. Having done this, he returned, either by completing the circuit of the walls, or by retracing his footsteps, and re-entered the gate of the Gai. The account of the rebuilding of the walls follows in chap. iii, and supplies much interesting detail, which is supplemented by the account of their dedication in chap. xii. From all this it is clear that Nehemiah's work was a restoration rather than a complete rebuilding; and that the city walls, as repaired by him, followed in all essentials the old pre-exilic lines.

This seems still to have been the case during the lifetime of our Lord. Many as were the vicissitudes through which Jerusalem passed in the intervening period, involving repeated sieges and the demolition of portions of the fabric (Smith, i, 193 ff.), yet there can be little doubt that the walls of the Herodian Jerusalem did not differ materially as to their course from the walls which were demolished by Nebuchadnezzar. Thus we are confronted by a question which has raised as much debate as the question of the site of Zion, but for the solution of which evidence is unfortunately not in like manner available. The traditional sites of Golgotha and the sacred Tomb, covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, occupy a position which is open to grave attack on the ground that the balance of probability may be argued to be against their having lain outside the

second north wall. Unless they were so situated, the possibility of the identification being correct falls at once to the ground; since we know that the Crucifixion and Entombment took place outside the gates of Jerusalem, and it is certain that this wall existed at the time. As we have seen, nothing is known as to the course of the wall except that it joined Antonia at one end; the site of the gate Genath in the old wall, from which it started, being unidentified. The fact that the line of the wall probably ran through the modern city, where the ground is thickly covered with houses, renders investigation impossible; and such remains as have been unearthed in the digging of foundations have proved of little value as evidence for the elucidation of the problem.

Along the line of the north-west and north walls of the modern city many remains of an old wall have been discovered; but, as Sir Charles Wilson shows (pp. 138 ff.), this answers to the description given by Josephus ('War,' v, 4: 2) of the third north wall, commenced by Herod Agrippa I and completed by the Jews in preparation for the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70. Dr Merrill, who places Agrippa's wall much further north, argues at length that these remains belong to the second wall; and that the view which makes them part of Agrippa's wall and places the second wall further south, is excluded by Josephus' narrative of Titus' siege and capture of these two walls. His arguments, however, require to be checked in every detail by careful reference to his authority; and when this has been done, it appears that they amount to little or nothing.

One illustration must suffice. When Titus had captured Agrippa's wall, he moved his camp inside the wall to a spot which was known as the Camp of the Assyrians, taking care, however, to be out of reach of the Jews' missiles from the second wall ('War,' v, 7: 3). On the theory of those who make Agrippa's wall to have followed the line of the modern north wall, Dr Merrill gives a plan (p. 161) in which he places Titus' camp inside the north-western corner of the modern city. Then, having indicated on the plan three theoretical courses of the second wall within the city (numbered 1, 2, 3), he draws a line from the north-western corner of each to the assumed site of the camp, and shows the respective

distances to be 1000 feet, 600 feet, and 700 feet. He then argues as follows :

'The Jews by this time had learned the use of warlike engines, and they had excellent machines which they had taken from the Twelfth Legion at Beth Horon. The range of these machines was 1200 feet. Titus, therefore, since he was out of range of the enemies' missiles, must have been more than 1200 feet from the Second Wall. But from No. 3 to his camp was 700 feet, from No. 2 to his camp was 600 feet, and from No. 1 to his camp was 1000 feet. From any one of these points the Jews could have annoyed Titus greatly and made his camp very unsafe. Hence we have either to discard Josephus' statement entirely, or to admit that the line of the present wall has nothing to do with the First [Agrippa's] Wall of the siege of Titus' (pp. 169 f.).

This seems to be conclusive, assuming that Josephus' estimate of the range of the machines is correct, and that Dr Merrill is quoting him with accuracy. When, however, we turn to 'War,' v, 6 : 3, we find, with regard to the machines captured by the Jews from Cestius at Beth Horon and from the garrison of Antonia, that,

'though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them that they were in a great measure useless to them; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did, though after an awkward manner. . . . The engines that all the legions had ready prepared for them were admirably contrived; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the Tenth Legion; those that threw darts and those that threw stones were more powerful and larger than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were on the walls also. Now the stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two stadia and further.'

Thus we observe that the machines which had a range of two stadia (approximately 1200 feet) or more were not those possessed by the Jews, but the 'extraordinary' ones belonging to the Tenth Legion; and, further, that such machines as the Jews possessed they were unable to use, or at best could only use them very awkwardly. On the ground of this kind of employment of his sources Dr Merrill's arguments must be discounted; and students of the question will prefer to follow Sir

Charles Wilson, who, speaking as a skilled investigator, assumes the probability that the traditional site of Golgotha may have lain outside the second wall, and, as a military expert, finds nothing in the evidence of Josephus against the view that the modern north wall answers approximately to Agrippa's wall (p. 130).

It is clear, therefore, that no definite conclusion as to the authenticity of the traditional site of Golgotha can be deduced from the position of the second wall; and our acceptance or non-acceptance of the site must depend upon the value which we attach to the continuous tradition of the Church since the time of Constantine. With regard to this, both Dr Sanday and Sir Charles Wilson argue forcibly that it may quite well have been based upon an unbroken recollection from the earliest times, and prove that to reject the tradition off-hand is as uncritical as to accept it without question. At any rate, the possibilities embodied in the tradition render the site far more worthy of consideration than the purely hypothetical identification which is known as 'Gordon's Calvary' to the north of the Damascus gate, advocated by Col. Conder (ch. vii).

The limits of this article exclude discussion of other New Testament sites in and about Jerusalem. These have been reviewed by Dr Sanday in ch. iii of his book; and they are dealt with at length by Dr Smith in the concluding chapters of his second volume. Much light, too, has been thrown upon some of the problems connected with Herod's Temple in a valuable series of articles by Dr Kennedy, which appeared in the 'Expository Times' for the year 1908-9. In these the writer seems to have substantiated his claim that he has 'succeeded in determining, to within a few feet, the precise location of Herod's Temple and its courts.' The aspect of this Temple, as it must have appeared to a spectator, 'standing on the road from Bethany as it breaks round the Mount of Olives,' is vividly painted in all its detail by Dr Smith (ii, 518 ff.); but the description is too long to quote, and to select or to curtail would be to spoil the picture. In this, as in other descriptive passages, the grace and vigour of the writer's style, no less than his learned insight into the questions with which he is dealing, carry

his readers along with him, and invest the history of the ancient city with a human interest such as it is in the power of few writers to create in a like degree.

Readers of Dr Smith's important work can scarcely fail to realise how much of archæological research still remains to be accomplished; and at the same time how much can be done by the investigations of trained scholars such as the author, who have contrived for themselves opportunities of first-hand acquaintance with the archæological problems of Jerusalem. So far as Great Britain is concerned, however, the matter is still unfortunately one of private contrivance on the part of individual scholars; and it is surely a subject of reproach to this country that there is at Jerusalem no British school of research like the German and American schools and the Dominican Convent of St Stephen, or the British schools at Rome and Athens.

The present time, when the question of research is so much in the air at both our older Universities, seems to offer a unique opportunity for the supply of this deficiency; but, crippled as Oxford and Cambridge are in the matter of funds, and beset by the demands of other branches of study, it is difficult to see how the project can hope to gain the support which it deserves. A mere fraction of the money which is so lavishly bestowed by wealthy benefactors upon free libraries and scientific laboratories would suffice handsomely to equip such a school; and if, in addition to this, an Oxford and a Cambridge College were each to devote a Research Fellowship to the cause, and other British universities were willing to co-operate, the school would be brought into close connexion with our ancient seats of learning, and a constant succession of students would be secured. Such a scheme, too, might be carried through without in any way diminishing the support which the Palestine Exploration Fund has so long and so deservedly enjoyed; and the new school would reap the advantage of the experience and co-operation of the old Society. Is it too much to hope that the influence of Dr Smith's work, which marks an epoch in Biblical study, may stimulate the support which is needed in order to make this scheme a reality?

C. F. BURNEY.

Art. 5.—GOLF DURING THIRTY YEARS. ✓

1. *Golf.* 'The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes.' Edited by the Duke of Beaufort. London: Longmans, 1890.
2. *Golf: a Royal and Ancient Game.* Edited by Robert Clark. London: Macmillan, 1893.
3. *The Life of Tom Morris, with glimpses of St Andrews and its Golfing Celebrities.* By W. W. Tulloch, D.D. London: Werner Laurie, 1907.

It is recorded in a great book that a certain don of Oxford, after his first introduction to the game of golf, defined it as the pastime of 'putting little balls into little holes with instruments singularly ill-adapted to the purpose.' Why should the author of this inspired phrase be denied due recognition? It was Mr William Little, fellow and tutor of Corpus. Had his inspiration taken the line of prophecy, instead of that of definition, and been equally successful and exact, it is difficult to think that any who heard him would have paid heed to his words, so far beyond all reasonable expectation has been the development—among all conditions and both sexes—of that pastime of putting the little balls into the little holes; for the definition is now thirty years old; and in the interval important things have happened.

It is not very easy to perceive how any pastime could make so great a change as has actually taken place, and the change itself, though thirty years is not a very long while, has been so gradual that even the fact is not quite obvious, just because it lies before our eyes. It is so obvious that we hardly notice it. Yet if we look at the map, or even if we take a mental tour around the coast, we find a great number of watering-places which practically owe their existence to golf. Men, with their families, visit them for a month or six weeks in the holiday time of the year, or by themselves, without their domestic encumbrances, for a few days or a 'week-end' at other seasons. Golf is the very life of these places. Were it not for the golf they would not exist. Without it they would never have come into being, and if it were withdrawn they would die of inanition. Those which have the attraction of a good golf course can dispense with any

other attraction, and have so strong an attraction in the golf, pure and simple, that they can draw away all the visitors, with all their money, from places which have every other attraction except the golf. I propose in this paper to review the influence of the coming of golf, with its great and engrossing fascination, on those classes which it affects.

How considerable is the difference between the condition, that is to say the universal favour, of golf in England to-day and its state when the present writer was at Oxford, that is from 1878 to 1882, may be gauged by the sensation which golf-clubs used to cause at a railway station in those days. Nowadays, the only sensation induced by them is that of weight on the back of the porter who bears them. Formerly, you might watch simple folk gathered around them with that grin on their faces which the ignorant always wear when they see a thing that is new to them and yet not formidable enough to be terrifying. Even years later than that it was only necessary to tell a man that you were a golfer, and he would at once consider you a fool, regarding you perhaps with that gentle pity which an international Rugby football player might feel for a man who was introduced to him with the recommendation that he had played ping-pong or diabolò for England. But in 1880, if you told a man you were a golfer, he did not form any opinion of you on that account at all, for the word implied nothing to him. He looked at you vaguely and asked you what you meant, just as the porters and others at the railway stations asked you what 'them sticks be for?' To get a bird's-eye view of the situation a little more clearly, let us take a glance at the dates of the institution of a few of the earlier English clubs.

We have, of course, the immemorial antiquity of the Royal Blackheath Golf Club. That is an institution founded, as the claim is laid, by James I. We need not, for the present purpose, enter the bunkers of historical debate over the justice of that claim. The Blackheath Club existed, but it was a barren stock; and the same unkindly word has to be said of the Old Manchester Club which dates back to 1818. In 1829 was founded the Calcutta Golf Club; in 1842 that of Bombay; in 1856 the club at Pau in France. Some forty Scottish clubs

are of age to have held their jubilee; but, except for those two above named, not one golf club was in existence in England or Ireland fifty years ago.

The first sign of the coming 'boom,' the first step in the advance of the great golfing army, as yet hardly enlisted, was the institution of the Royal North Devon Club, with its links at Westward Ho in 1864. This notable milestone on the road was due to the accidental visit to Northam, the neighbouring village, of a St Andrews resident and ardent golfer. His appreciative eye noted the 'Northam Burrows'—as the common land is called, on part of which the Westward Ho course is laid out—as admirably adapted by nature for golf. The next institution of the kind is that of the London Scottish Golf Club, associated with the Rifle Volunteer corps of that name, which exercised on Wimbledon Common. This was started in 1865, Lord Wemyss (then Lord Elcho) being, I believe, a moving spirit. Others than members of the Rifle corps were admitted as members of the golf club, which thus provided an outlet for the golfing energies of Scots resident in London. The Royal Liverpool Club, playing at Hoylake, on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, was formed in 1869, five years later than that of Westward Ho which was the first of English seaside courses. Then there was something of a halt, or marking of time, for some years, with the recruiting of the army proceeding slowly. A new start forward was made about the year 1880 and onwards. The Royal Isle of Wight Club, at Bembridge, was formed in 1882; and, if there was any institution of a seaside club between that and the Royal Liverpool Club's formation in 1869, it has not come under my notice. It was not till 1885 that Dr Laidlaw Purnes made his great golfing discovery of Sandwich, which has resulted in the wonderful three courses of Sandwich, Deal, and Prince's, now side by side.

Several inland courses had been formed in the meantime, including that of the Crookham Club, near Newbury, which was within reach from Oxford, and the Oxford University Club's course itself, first of a few holes only on Port Meadow, then over the cricket grounds, in the winter terms, on Cowley Marsh. Cambridge was playing on Coldham Common by about 1876; but few undergraduates at either university were sufficiently

advanced or sufficiently Scottish to understand what golf meant. I can remember that what astonished them most about it was that it could be played in a man's ordinary clothes. Accustomed as they were to the 'flannelled fool and the muddled oaf,' they could not conceive what kind of a game this might be that could be played without its peculiar garb. The red coat was at that time worn by a good many golfers. It was sometimes said that no man ought to wear a red coat till he had been round under a hundred. In those days it took more skill than it takes now to go round under three figures. Nowadays it seems that no one ever wears a red coat unless he can *not* go round under a hundred, except on some of those suburban courses where it is *de rigueur*, its purpose being similar to that of the red flag carried before the traction engine—to act as a danger signal to the pedestrian.

Just as golf has called into existence, and kept in affluence, many a watering-place on the coast, just as it has caused a demand at a high figure for land of the character that is technically called 'links,' that is to say, of the starved, sandy kind that will hardly support the life of any herbivorous animal except the rabbit, so it has acted nearer the centres of civilisation, especially around London and other large towns, in making valuable that which was practically of no value for any other object, and in enhancing the rental of land and houses. Many an impoverished landed proprietor, in these days of the shrinkage of agricultural rent, has found his salvation in letting or selling the least valuable portion of his estate to a golf club or golfing syndicate; and, while he thus obtains a good rental for that which under other conditions would return him none, the value of other land in the neighbourhood of the golf course has advanced enormously. Even fifteen years ago the house-agents would tell you that the annual rental of an unfurnished house of, say, twelve bedrooms, would be enhanced by something like 50% if it happened to be in the vicinity of a tolerably good course. By way of a concrete example, it may be noted that a very common price for fair building-land in the neighbourhood of the Walton Heath course is at the rate of 700% per acre, and that 1000% per acre has been paid.

So far all that has been said is to the game's credit, for it is surely better that waste places both by the sea and inland should be made remunerative and at the same time should give healthy exercise and amusement to a large number of people, than that such places should lie idle. It is true that a charge has been brought against the golfer, by some who deem themselves specially qualified to speak with authority of the beautiful in nature, of destroying natural beauties and making the wastes ugly. In reply it may be urged on the golfer's behalf that, if this be the case in some instances, it must also be granted him that he has saved many a piece of beautiful country from falling into the hands of the cheap builder. Let him at least be given his due.

Before going on to discuss a question of great difficulty raised by golf, namely, the creation of the worst, because the most casual, mode of employment for the caddies who carry the golfer's clubs, we may say a few words to indicate what is really the nature of the change—on the whole, in all probability, the very salutary change—that golf has introduced into the habits of a large class of men and a nearly equally large class of women. The class which has chiefly been affected by the coming of golf is what is commonly called the professional class. The Englishman of leisure was generally a sportsman or a game-player of one kind or another, even while golf-clubs were still such unfamiliar implements as to excite the wonder of all spectators in railway stations. Golf has made less difference to him. But, as for the great army of professional men in London and other big cities, lawyers, doctors, actors, and business men, what did they do with their afternoons of leisure before they could occupy themselves with golf? What did they do with their longer vacations? We ask the question, but we find no answer. We are at a loss to know what they did with themselves, even as they surely were often at a loss to know what to do. Perhaps they went for a walk in the summer afternoons; perhaps in their longer holidays they travelled abroad. And here we touch a point in which it is sometimes argued that the influence of golf is not what we could wish it. It is not to be claimed that golf enlarges or stores the mind of a man, or gives him a more comprehensive

outlook on humanity, as travel may enlarge and enrich it. The healthy exercise of golf however is a physical boon to all; whereas it is not every man that has a mind capable of deriving much good from his travels.

We may perhaps leave this topic with this brief notice, for those who care to elaborate it along the lines towards which their own education and tastes incline them. There is this point, however, to be made in favour of golf as compared with many another game—let us say cricket or football—that it is a game for the contemplative man, even as angling is his sport. It gives leisure as we go between the strokes, leisure in which a man may study the beauties of nature and the tragedies and comedies which her actors, the birds and other live things, are continually placing on the stage. It carries the man of books out into a beautiful world. Moreover, it gives more than this passive opportunity for his appreciation of a world to which books do not introduce him. It has been said of golf, by all who have pursued it with the mental eye not glued too exclusively on the ball, that of all games, almost of all pursuits with which man can occupy himself, it is the one that tries his weak humanity the most highly, that lays bare, more than any other, his disposition, cracks the veneer, reveals him to the core. It has been said that 'the soul of man is very naked in a bunker.' Therefore we find in the game at once a shrewd school of discipline for human nature, and also an object-lesson, so that the spectator may see the stuff of which the common human clay is made. No one, it has been observed, has opportunities for the study of human nature at all equal to those enjoyed by the caddy. It has been questioned whether in the confessional the secrets are revealed as entirely as in the bunker. Doubtless the caddy is uniquely placed for 'the proper study of mankind.' It may be added that some of the shrewd Scottish caddies do not neglect their opportunities.

But what shall we say as to the discipline which their occupation in the game supplies to the nature and character of the caddies themselves? It is to be feared that we touch here a very tender spot. We provide, for the adolescent sons of the fishers and other native people of those villages on the coast beside which

we make our golf courses, an employment which gives them a wage of about half a crown for a day's work of four or five hours; this being on the assumption that they carry twice round an eighteen-hole course. It is an extravagant rate of pay. Except in the Midlands or other places where collieries or opportunities for work at exceptional rates are at hand, the boy thus occupied earns a day's wage quite disproportionate to the earnings of his parent. The parents have a strong temptation to send the boy to a business in which, if he is lucky, he may gain so much with so little trouble. But, as we know very well, there are a great many days in the year, a large majority of days, commonly speaking, when the boy will not get anything to do at all, and will not earn a penny. Even on his good days, those on which he earns his disproportionate wage, he is not learning any trade, is not fitting himself for any work in life of a more settled kind than the casual job-work on which he is engaged now. And on the days when he is not occupied he is learning something. He is just at the age at which the habits of life are formed; and the habit he is forming is that of which Mr Micawber exhibits the type. He is 'waiting for something to turn up'; he is learning to be a loafer—a lesson soon learnt and very difficult to unlearn.

Some of the clubs have been trying hard, and with much success, to modify the evil of this kind which the game does much to create; and perhaps the best sign of all is not so much the achieved success—though this is by no means negligible—as the recognition by the clubs of their responsibility. Perhaps the best object-lesson in this good endeavour is shown at the Sunningdale Club; and I feel sure that, if other institutions are disposed to follow that good example, the secretary, Mr H. Colt, would be pleased to furnish every detail which could be of assistance. In rough outline, what has been done at Sunningdale is this. A certain number of caddies have been engaged permanently, at a fixed wage, which they draw whether employed in club-carrying or not. In order to modify, so far as possible, the evils of enforced idleness, the club finds such employment for them as it can, on their off-days, in jobs about the course; and no doubt their

work helps more than a little to reduce the general wages-bill of the club. A register is kept, in which are inscribed the names of the boys thus permanently employed, with their addresses and the occupations which their parents wish them to pursue in later life. It is a leading principle of those members who have this matter in hand that a boy is not to be always a caddy; that this phase in his career ought to end with the beginning of his seventeenth year, or thereabouts; and the endeavour is to give him some sort of training and instruction which shall ground him in the rudiments of the profession which it is intended that he shall follow when he ceases to be a caddy. A carpenter's shop has been started for the Sunningdale caddies to learn and practise in; and winter evening-classes have been formed, which it is found that a large majority of the boys are glad to attend.

It is not suggested that it is possible for every golf club to proceed on these lines, but for many it would be possible, and they may be glad to have the way pointed out for them. At others the demand for caddies is not large or regular enough for more than a very few to be taken on permanently in this way; and not every club has the money at command to spend in this manner. But, where the demand is small, it implies that the number of caddies is small also, so that the original evil which this system aims at reducing is not of large extent. Where the demand is large, members must be numerous; and, if there is not money forthcoming to help in curing the evils which golf is, partly at least, responsible for creating, the only just criticism is that there ought to be. If members recognise their responsibility, there will be the needful money; and, as said already, the most hopeful sign of all is that golfers are clearly beginning to perceive this responsibility, and are generally willing to tackle it if only the way be shown to them. It cannot be pleaded that all the evil is remedied, even by the system in vogue at Sunningdale, but at least it is very greatly mitigated.

Probably the Sunningdale principle is a perfectly right one, namely, that the carrying of golf-clubs has become in these modern days, and as the game is now played, one that is beneath the dignity of a grown man. In the good old days of the caddy who used to give his master advice

at every turn, choose his clubs for him, and really do most of the mental work of the game, it was quite another story. It is, however, an ancient story now, and will not be revived. But there are still localities where the labour of some of the people is of such a character that they have spells of enforced leisure from their regular employment, in which they are surely better employed in carrying clubs than in doing nothing. Such are the courses which are in proximity to fishing villages, for sea-fishing is a craft which is dependent on winds and waves and tides; and it may be that one or other of these influences is keeping the fisherman from sea-going, and he may as well be club-carrying as doing nothing ashore. This and similar cases, however, we may rank in the class of exceptions which go to prove the general rule.

The caddy is by no means the only person who is employed by the golfer in a professional and wage-earning way. As the golfer's ideal of what he requires in the smoothness of the turf and the general beauty of his courses becomes higher, he employs a constantly increasing staff of green-keepers, mowers, sweepers, turf-cutters and the like; and so far all the increased employment is to be ascribed to his credit. Besides these, there is the great class of professional players; and, looking back on the game with an eye which can view many changes in its character, we find that the status of these professional players has undergone a great alteration and betterment. There was a time when the professional meant, generally, a caddy grown large in stature and deft in the playing of the game. He was, in fact, a caddy, carrying clubs when not engaged in playing the game, and thinking himself to suffer no loss of dignity in so doing. He had, in truth, little of the dignity belonging to members of the golfing profession to-day. Even then, however (we speak of 1880 or thereabouts), there were shining exceptions to this rule, for it was the age of old Tom Morris, of Tom Dunn, of Jack Morris, Charlie Hunter, Johnny Allan. All these were professionals, much in the modern sense of being attached to a certain club, looking after its green, purveying clubs and balls.

The clubs of that day were much longer in the face than the round-headed ones which are used now. This is said of the wooden-headed clubs especially, of which there

were comparatively more in use; for the full complement of a golfer's set consisted of a 'driver,' and various sorts of 'spoons,' differing in angle of lie and of loft, and in length of shaft, from the 'long spoon,' which was virtually the 'driver' with face a little laid back, through the 'middle' and 'short spoons' down to the 'baffy,' which would be used by old players (Sir Robert Hay was perhaps the last survivor of the great exponents of 'baffy' play), as the modern man uses his 'mashie' with half and quarter strokes. The 'mashie' was then unknown, but the 'niblick' existed, taking the place of the older 'sand-iron' for getting the ball out of horrid places; and when the club with a brass sole screwed on the bottom, for resistance to the flints of roads and so on, first took practical shape, it was under the name of a 'wooden niblick,' this title being an indication of the shortness of the head, designed to allow the club to fit into a rut and fetch the ball out of it. After a while this club began to be called the 'brassy,' because of the brass on its sole; and its form may be considered to have set the mode of the short and round-headed clubs with which all the world plays golf now. The 'baffy' was going out of vogue for approaching, and the 'iron' was the club in common use for this purpose. All 'putters,' with very few exceptions, were of wood; and the great feature of a set of clubs of that day as compared with this is that the wooden clubs far outnumbered the iron ones. To-day the relative numbers are quite reversed. And, when we take into consideration this fact and therewith the solid character of the balls, which bore far more weightily on the wooden clubs of that time than our modern rubber-covered and very resilient balls, it is evident that clubs would be likely to require renewal and repair much more often than now. This was, in fact, the case. Wood was not so well kept, chosen, and seasoned; and the clubs were constantly breaking. This implied a constant demand for the services of the professional golf-club and ball-maker attached to the local club.

At first these professionals were invariably Scotsmen. It was many years before the Englishman could learn to take golf seriously and believe that there was any money in the game. I suppose that the earliest, as he has been the most successful, of English professional golfers was

J. H. Taylor, the present champion; and, following his stimulating example, an immense number of young fellows from the English courses have taken up golf as a profession and have found it profitable. But its conditions, and therewith the situation of the professional, have undergone great changes. At the time when the young Scotsmen, growing up out of the caddy status, were coming south to take charge of English greens, and in the early days of the development of the young English professional, the local professional had practically in his hands all the club-making and club-repairing business which the local demand required. The big shops, such as Spalding's and others, did not exist as his competitors. He had, moreover, the business of ball-making, buying the gutta-percha in sticks, moulding the balls, marking and painting them in his own shop, and, when they were battered about, remoulding and repainting them. In a great measure all this employment has been taken out of the hands of the modern professional. Golf-clubs are largely made in the big shops. The local professionals make a few, and repair a few more, but the ball-making and remaking has entirely gone from them. There is also a disposition to take the management of the green and the care of the turf out of the hands of the professional player, who, truth to say, as a rule knows mighty little about it, and to give it over to a man especially trained to the job.

It might seem, therefore, as if the professional's lot was rather a hard one, and did not compare very happily with that of his predecessors in the same line of life; but that would be drawing a wrong inference. There are cases, no doubt, where the professional has something to complain of. He has taken his situation on the understanding that he shall reap something from the sale and remake of golf-clubs, and from the retailing of balls which he buys at trade prices; and he now finds this expected income diminished to something like the vanishing point by the tendency of the members to buy their clubs and balls elsewhere. In a case such as that the terms of the man's engagement should be altered. But, as a rule, the status of the golf professional, as well as his emolument, is very much higher than it used to be. There are so many learners, beginning golf or willing to think that

the lessons of the expert may improve them, that the demand for the professional's services as teacher is a very large one at any populous golfing centre. The dress, the look, the manner, and the conduct of men of the golfing profession to-day will combine to show how much higher that profession stands than at the beginning of the period under review. The professional golfers have their Association, their competitions, which they arrange for themselves, their own benefit society. There are not wanting amateurs who say that professionals are very much spoiled by receiving too much liberality and kindness. The opinion of the Association has even been asked (it was not followed) about the greens on which the open championship should be played. The leaders of the profession, the great players, earn very large salaries and incomes from playing exhibition matches as well as in the way of prize money, and also make a heavy charge, which is cheerfully paid, for their services as designers of new courses. Of course only a relatively few make these exceptional incomes, but the condition of the rank and file is prosperous ; and, as their numbers have increased very largely, so too has their general status vastly improved.

Inevitably, with regard to this game of golf, as to other things that have occupied the attention of men for successive generations, we are disposed to ask ourselves whether we are better than our fathers. It would appear on the face of it obvious that we must be. The constant lowering of the record on this, that, and the other greens, which have been the playgrounds of all the best men for years, indicates it ; but it is an indication which must be taken with certain necessary qualifications. The implements of the game, both clubs and balls, have improved ; the general tendency of courses is to become wider, and therefore easier, as the multitude of golfers wears away 'the rough' on either side, in spite of bunkers artfully inserted, by way of compensation ; on the whole, the 'lies' through the green and the putting-greens themselves grow better as more care and money and intelligence are being brought to bear on them. Despite these discounts, however, it is to be believed that the present generation really does play better golf than those which went before it. The impartial view is no

doubt hard to take. I once asked Mr Balfour Melville how he thought the play of 'young Tommy' Morris compared with that of Taylor, Braid, and Harry Vardon. 'Well,' he replied, after some thought, 'all I can say is that I cannot imagine a man playing better than young Tommy used to.'

That, doubtless, is the answer that each of us would make as to the best in our own generation. Nevertheless, one has a secret conviction that there has been a real advance. The opportunities of the modern men are greater. The famous trio just named are perpetually before the public, playing 'gallery' matches. Hence the hardening of their nerve, resulting in that terrible consistency which has made their phalanx so long impenetrable to all the assaults of the young men. Young Tommy, Strath, and the other famous professionals of old, had not this training. It is also to be credited to the modern men that they live carefully to fit themselves for the game, keeping the eye clear and the nerves cool. We cannot say that their superiority is due to better physique or to better style. No men could well be more different in respect of physical make or method of swing than these three great ones; yet their results, reckoned by strokes taken in going round all sorts and conditions of courses, are marvellously alike. We may also credit them with the admirable quality of command of temper which all three have achieved; the Scot, as it seems, by a natural gift of patient endurance, the Jersey man by a kind of gay and gallant spirit which seems to think scorn of giving circumstance a chance to triumph, and the Devonian, the present champion, by a sheer clenching of the teeth in a dogged struggle against a demon which is always making golfing life difficult for him. The more credit to him that, in its despite, he can play so wonderfully the most temper-trying game in the world.

Not the least striking of all the changes is that which has taken place in the botanical knowledge of the green-keeper, if he be worthy to hold that position. It is not too much to say that at the beginning of this period he had no such knowledge at all. To him there was such a plant as grass, and the rest were whins, plantains, or whatever it might be, regarded as vermin to be banished, by any rough-and-ready processes, from his

greens; but, as for any cognisance of a difference between grasses, he was quite unaware that a difference existed. The hackneyed counsel of the greatest of all green-keepers of old to 'pit on mair saund,' summed up the total of his ability to war against the attacks of Flora in her unfriendly mood. Nowadays we hear the green-keeper reeling off the scientific names of the different varieties of British grasses with an *aplomb* that is almost disconcerting. But he knows, what is more important than their names, how to encourage their growth; he has discovered which species to plant on his greens, and which to keep for his 'through-the-green' and teeing-grounds. He has even some rudimentary knowledge of the chemical analysis of soils and the right kind of nutriment to give in each case to supply natural deficiencies. The great seed-producing firms, such as Sutton's and Carter's, have found it well worth their while to give serious attention to the best grasses and treatment for golf courses, and will send down practised experts to advise, to make an analysis of the soils, and to report according to its results. There is a big demand for the best wood for the shafts and heads of clubs; and the golf-ball industry is so important that it came out, at a recent trial, that a single firm in America had made 10,000% profit in a single year from the sale of golf-balls alone. These are big figures, but they were stated on oath in court, and not controverted.

The literature for which golf, in its modern manifestation, has been responsible, is very voluminous and very varied in its quality. Besides 'books which are not books,' such as the purely didactic treatises, the 'annuals,' which give account of the progress of the game and the results of the chief matches, with which may be grouped the reports in the daily papers, the game has found its more serious and artistic scribes, who have attacked it either historically, like 'the magnificent Clark,' as the late Prof. Tait called him, or in a vein of poetic trifling, like Mr Andrew Lang, the late Mr Campbell of Ormsary, and many more, or in the form of the magazine story or occasional novel, with their scenes laid on the links. We have even seen the game introduced before the footlights, though the dramatic treatment has always been of the light comedy nature and never of the dignity which is

the game's due. It is perhaps a little curious that it has not been employed with greater success by the novelist; but therein it ranks with cricket, which writers so different as Charles Dickens and George Meredith have touched but have not adorned.

It seems hardly necessary to say more than the briefest word about the reasons which have given golf its popularity. It is more interesting to note why they only began to prevail at such a late date. Golf was introduced into England a long time back, and was played at Blackheath in the reign of the first Stuart king. Cynics have said that the choice of Blackheath as the site of its first introduction would be enough to prevent this example being followed; but this is an inexpensive witticism which is unjust to the Heath, where a great deal of good golf of the 'inland' variety has been enjoyed by some of the best players that ever handled a club.

The cost of the ball was originally an element, no doubt, in retarding the spread of the game. It was about the middle of the last century that the gutta-percha ball was invented, and began to take the place of the old balls of feathers stuffed tight into a case of leather. At first the gutta-percha balls were made smooth, and consequently (as we now know) ducked in their flight, and behaved so badly that the golfers of the period were on the point of giving them up and going back to their old feathered friends, when it began to be observed that they flew much better after a few hacks had been indented on them by the edge of the iron clubs. From this, to giving them the nicks, or roughness, before they were painted and offered for sale, was a short and obvious step; and from that time forward the 'guttie' was the ball of the game, varied by a few attempted but abandoned improvements in the material by mixing the gutta-percha with other substances (as in the case of the so-called 'eclipse,' nicknamed 'putty' from its softness), until the Americans took up golf, and at once, with their national ingenuity, invented the rubber-cored balls which every one uses now.

These gutta-percha balls ('Gourlays' as they were called at first from the name of their maker) mark an era, because they cost a shilling and the feather balls had

cost four, and, moreover, the 'gutties' (to give them the name they acquired as soon as the 'putties' were brought in and suggested the rhyme) were more durable. Thus, the cost of the most perishable article used in the game being reduced to a fourth, and the article becoming coincidentally much less perishable than before, the natural effect on the game's popularity is not far to seek. At the same time, or very little later, came the discovery of Westward Ho and the inception of the idea that 'links,' in the truest sense of seaside ground most suited for golf, were not the peculiar property of Scotland, but might be found in England also; and, these two factors co-operating, the result is the immense general vogue of the game to-day. England, taking up golf, began to spend more money on the care of the courses than had been the custom in Scotland. Scotland followed; and the effect, without doubt, has been to make a better and more scientific and pleasant game of it. At the present time it is a great question whether courses are not becoming a little too artificial, and were not better left in something rather more like their original wild state; but in earlier days there is no doubt whatever that they were left too much to themselves.

The reason why we need not marvel at the popularity which the game has won is that it is so very evidently an interesting and healthy pursuit for both sexes and all ages, and that it differs from the great majority of games in being one in which those who are lovers of it take a vigorous share. They are not mere spectators. Almost all our modern athletic games are purely spectacular for the masses. Only a few take active part in them. The man who says he is 'fond of racing' means no more than that he likes to watch horses running; and few of those who go to Lord's or the Oval ever go to the wicket, or would stay there long if they did. But the man who is fond of golf is fond of playing it, and the worst play it with the same contentment as the best. Whether it is well that 'a mere game' should absorb so much attention, is, as was hinted before, an open question, but it is a different one from the actual quality of this or other games considered comparatively. At least we may be sure that the man who occupies his leisure for two days in the week on the golf course is doing so in a healthful manner

and one of the most trenchant comments to be made on the strictures which we often hear on the national degradation involved in the attention paid to football, for example, by those who do not dream of playing it, is that the critics do not suggest the manner in which the football-watching crowds might employ themselves more profitably. Certainly they cannot all be players, for there would be no place for them; and those who watch the cricketers in Regent's Park on a Saturday afternoon, and perceive how thick they are on the ground, will not be disposed to accuse the Londoner of neglecting his opportunities of athletic exercise. But the golfer, at all events, cannot be charged with wishing to regard the game as a mere spectacle. He does his little best to play it; and, though we need not contend that golf is the noblest of pursuits, we may fairly urge that the majority of those who are golfers would lose more than they would gain if they were to abandon the pursuit of the royal and ancient game with the idea of turning their present golfing holidays to some better purpose. Nor do I believe that they are really open to a criticism sometimes made upon them. It is occasionally said that we golfers of to-day are less careful than our fathers in observance of the etiquette of the game, and that our courtesies in the way of playing it will not bear comparison with theirs. I cannot see it. I do not think it. Nevertheless I give the comment of these appraisers of the grand old manner for what it may be worth.

From all that has been said it will be gathered, and rightly, that we have grown far more luxurious than our golfing fathers, and that we demand more of our courses. At the same time the demand has arisen for more commodious club-houses; and we spend more money on all the amenities of the game than in days of a ruder simplicity. But, whatever our national decadence may be in this respect, we may take what of comfort we can find from the reflection that, if it is so in our own country, the luxury of the American golfer and his expenditure on the game far exceed ours. His courses are more carefully kept; his club-houses are on a grander scale; he is altogether a more magnificent person as a golfer. 'Why,' said an American at St Andrews a year or two ago, before the water had been carried out to all the

greens, 'I guess if we had a course like this over in our country we'd have water to all the greens if we had to take it out in pipes of gold.' Twenty years ago America did not play golf at all, although there were courses for many a year before that in Canada; but, when she did take to the game, she showed a nationally characteristic zeal in its pursuit. She has learnt it so well that she was able to send one of her players over here, who won our amateur championship from all comers. In professional golf she has not done so well, for our own professionals always seem to have the better of native talent when they go to America. We may note some curious facts of a like kind in the comparison of English, Scottish, and Irish golf. Only once has our English amateur team beaten the Scottish, yet our English professionals more than hold their own against the Scottish professors. The Irish amateurs of the male sex are never (or hardly ever) able to win their championship, which they throw open to all amateurs that care to enter; and no Irishman has ever made much of a mark in our amateur championship. Yet the Irish lady players come over and win our ladies' championship. For the moment, though the open champion is an Englishman, Scotland, as seems only her due, is very strong indeed at her own game, as played by either sex.

It has been said that thirty years ago the man who travelled in England with golf-clubs was a subject of wonder and even of some suspicion. Now it would probably be very difficult to find any part of the globe where the natives, if there are any, have not seen a golf-club. Every European country has its courses; there is a regular chain of links along the Riviera. Every English colony has its club or clubs as a matter of course. Whether for better or worse, there can be very little question of the fact that the 'royal and ancient' game of Scotland has so made its way into favour with the world that it is more widely played than any other; that more time and money are spent on it; and that it has done more than any other game of this or any other time to alter the habits and affect the fortunes of mankind.

HORACE G. HUTCHINSON.

Art. 6.—THE RISE OF THE NATIVE.

1. *East India (Advisory and Legislative Councils)*. Proposals of the Government of India, etc. Government Bluebook, London, 1908; and the Government of India Gazette, Calcutta, November 15, 1909.
2. *Les Grottes de Grimaldi (Baoussé Roussé)*, etc. By Dr Verneaux, and others. (A description of prehistoric Negro, Cro Magnon, and other human remains in southern France). Imprimerie de Monaco, 1908.
3. *The Basis of Ascendancy*. By Edgar Gardner Murphy. (Dealing with Negro problem in the United States.) London and New York: Longmans, 1909.
4. *The Basuto*. By Sir Godfrey Lagden, K.C.M.G. Two vols. London: Hutchinson, 1909.
5. *The Real India*. By J. D. Rees, C.V.O., C.I.E., M.P. Second edition. London: Methuen, 1909.
6. *The Gateway to the Sahara*. By Charles Wellington Furlong. New York: Scribner, 1909.
7. *Great Britain and the Congo*. By E. D. Morel. London: Smith, Elder, 1909.
8. *The South African Natives*. Their progress and present condition. Edited by the South African Native Races Committee. London: Murray, 1908.

And other works.

THE Native problem probably began to present itself to the mind of the then predominant human type as far back as twenty thousand years ago, or whatever was the approximate date at which Neolithic man, forced to emigrate from his original home of development in Europe or Asia, impinged on the territories occupied by the Palæolithic savage, or even, it may be, districts in which still lurked the gorilla-like type of the Rhine valley, of France, Spain, Belgium, and the Carpathians.*

* This type, first made known to us by the human remains in the Neanderthal cavern, is by some authorities regarded as a distinct and more primitive species of man—*Homo primigenius*. The recent discoveries in the Corrèze (South-central France) and near Heidelberg have greatly added to our information regarding this very primitive development of the human genus. It is styled 'gorilla-like' because of the superficial resemblance to the skull of the gorilla in the great superciliary arches above the eyes; but its distance from the gorilla may be judged from the fact that the cranial

Neolithic man, with his greatly improved stone weapons and his superior intellect, soon conquered the Palæolithic savages, and probably had no scruple in taking from them their feeding grounds, their game preserves, or their more commodious caverns; but, being human, he had sometimes to ask himself if he should always slaughter the inferior race when it was in his power to do so, or if he should spare any of them to be wives or slaves.

Neolithic negroes, without much stretching of the analogy, may be said still to live in tropical Africa and to prey on the more barbarous tribes, which are in a condition more or less analogous to that of Palæolithic man in Europe twenty or thirty thousand years ago. What do they do in such cases? If, as in the basin of the Congo and the hinterland of the Cameroons, or the recesses of the West African forests, the clever and warlike Neolithic negroes are cannibals, they eat their male prisoners of war and the less comely women and children. But the young women are almost invariably spared to become the wives of the invaders, while the boys are trained as household slaves, or even as recruits for the army. Thus in modern Africa, as in ancient Europe and Asia, the invasion of the territory of the inferior race by the superior leads inevitably to a great mixture of blood, a levelling up and a levelling down, a compromise as regards languages, laws, and religion. At the same time the conquering race shows but little pity for the conquered, and no scruple whatever in depriving it of all the property movable and immovable that the conquerer is able to clutch and defend.

The first doubtings as to the ethics of this question—the right of the invader and conqueror to deal as he pleased with the possessions of the person or the race that hid its talent in a napkin—probably arose in the mind of some Aryan of temperate Europe or Asia, some thinker emanating from that most godlike development of the white man—godlike or demi-godlike in the consciousness not only of its own tribe or clan, but in the humble or the unwilling acquiescence of the black-haired and dark-complexioned races. Aryans of this Nordic race,

capacity of the male skulls of *Homo primigenius* is an average 1200 cubic centimetres, whereas the greatest recorded cranial capacity of the male gorilla skull is only 573 cubic centimetres.

descending on India from a possible home in Russia, ruled as demigods over a Negroid, Australoid India, but had little pity for the 'rights of the native.' Still, the idea of justice and clemency towards those of inferior endowments went on fermenting in Aryan brains till it found its first known expression through the teaching of Buddha, of that Indian prince—possibly of very marked Aryan origin—who was a kind of foreshadowing of Christ, and whose teaching is a singular, though imperfect, parallel to the ethics of Christianity.

But until the Christian religion came into being, there was probably no organised expression of this deliberate revolt against a pitiless law of nature—the survival of the fittest, the unquestioned right of the race or tribe superior in physical and mental endowment to take full advantage of its conquests; only to save the conquered and inferior race from utter extinction in so far as some of its members might be useful as slaves or pleasing as concubines. The ethics of Christianity, when they are based as nearly as possible on the teaching of Christ, and have not been corrupted by cruel crusaders or specious ecclesiastics, have formed a gospel of pity, have meant a tendering of the hand to the feeble in mind or body, the curing of the sick, the sparing of the deformed, the education of the backward, the enunciation of equal rights on the part of all races of man whether they were black-haired or yellow-haired, pink-cheeked or bronze-skinned, naked and barbarous, or clothed and civilised.

Christianity has been a 'flying in the face of Providence.' It is rapidly becoming a cosmic force of great importance; and it is difficult for the unbiassed philosopher to say whether it is tending towards the general improvement of humanity or is acting as a drag on progress. What but the spirit of Christianity keeps a decent European or American nation of white people from dealing pitilessly with an inferior race whose existence is a bar to the acquisition of wealth or colonisable territory? If they were beasts of the field—bison, buffalo, rhinoceroses, elephants, lions, or tigers—they would be forthwith destroyed by shooting parties or strychnine; although from the bosom of Christianity—'sweet St Francis of Assisi!'—a spirit of compassion and indulgence for beasts and birds is arising, and is likely to

shape man's future policy towards the other vertebrates. As it is, we shrink from such actions with very real horror, or at any rate that affectation of horror which is in itself a concession to the Christian spirit.

We now realise that there are few parts of the world where the white man cannot exist as well as, or better than, any other race. There is many a fair land occupied by Amerindians, by negroes, or by Asiatics, which would serve admirably as the future home of millions of white people. What restrains any one of the great white nationalities from sending expeditions to such a land to take it over and to oust or to slay its present inhabitants, who could not in the long run resist the white man's weapons, discipline, and science? It is 'common decency,' the feeling that it would be a horrible crime, in the eyes of some people a crime that God would punish, in the vernacular of others, 'a beastly shame'; in any case, an offence against the code of all civilised men and women, including many who are not Christians, either ostensible or real. One nation, perhaps one little nation, without a colony or a field of exploitation, might wish to do so, but would be restrained by a respect for international public opinion. In Britain, for example, we might feel that we possessed the means and the careless permission of Europe to take away the land of some small people and confer it on offshoots of our own race, but (apart from other considerations) we should have too anxious a care for our good name in the opinion of the Christian world to make any such use of our power and privileges. In short, an international conscience has come into being, based to a very great extent on the teaching of Christ and the ethics of Christianity, and has, since the very beginning of the sixteenth century, operated to redress the balance between the overwhelmingly powerful white peoples of Europe and the almost defenceless backward races of the rest of the world.

Had it not been for the Spanish bishops—Las Casas and others—and for the order of the Jesuits and of the Dominicans, the destruction of the Amerindian peoples in Northern, Central, and South America, and in the West Indies, would have been almost complete; for the Spaniards and Portuguese of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were as recklessly cruel and rapacious

throughout America as were the first Dutch settlers in South Africa towards the Bantu, Bushmen, and Hottentots; the British in Tasmania, Eastern North America, and much of Australia, and the Belgians in Congoland. Thanks mainly to the Jesuits, an Amerindian population of some sixteen millions exists at the present day; while the greater mass of the two million non-negro inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico, instead of being of pure white race, is olive-hued and half Amerindian in blood. Thanks to the British and French Protestant missions in South and Central Africa, there is a Basutoland containing 350,000 negroes and only 900 whites;* a Bechuanaland which is a protected negro territory and not a Dutch State or a province of the Chartered Company of South Africa; a Buganda which is a protected native kingdom, and not a region belonging to white concessionaires wherein the natives are worked to death or despair in helping the white capitalist to get rich quickly.

Basutoland and the Basuto† offer at one and the same time a remarkable instance of the rise of the native under the teaching of European missionaries (in this case mostly the agents of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society), and of the importance of foresight and statesmanship in the treatment of African problems. From the selfish point of view of the white man's interests in South Africa, the virtual creation or re-creation of Basutoland has been a tactical blunder. This mountain State, this crown of South Africa—its coolest, best-watered,

* Based on the census of 1904. In 1836 the population of Basutoland can scarcely have reached 10,000; in 1891 it was 218,324. In 1875 the negro population was 127,707. The increase is momentous, and is eloquent of the natives' fertility under good government.

† It is unfortunate that Sir Godfrey Lagden, who has given us an admirable, impartial, and accurate survey of the history of this negro State in South Africa, should have wounded the susceptibilities of Bantu students by such an ugly double plural as the 'Basutos.' If he wished to Anglicise the racial name (quite unnecessarily) he might have written of the Sutos, as we write of Zulus, Kafirs, etc. But no one thinks of writing 'the Amazulus'; it is either the Amazulu or the Zulus (if Anglicised). Nor does Sir Godfrey sin only in his title, but repeats this mistake throughout the book. For instance, he writes of the Umtetwas instead of the Abatetwa (plural of Umtetwa); or, if Anglicised, the Tetwas. Otherwise the book referred to is a valuable addition to the history of South Africa, and an important one, because the Basuto have still a great part to play, for good or ill, in the development of South Africa.

loveliest, and most impregnable land—should, after its depopulation by Zulu raids and the resultant famines and diseases, have been allotted to Boers or British to become the centre of the white man's rule over South Africa. The European missionaries, British Governors, Boer, British, and German farmers of the forties and fifties of the last century, who realised the splendid work which was being done for the natives by Moshesh, should have invited him and his following *not* to take up their abode in this Switzerland of giant mountains, tremendous ravines, thick forests, and snowy plateaus, but have offered them (and maintained them in) the spacious flat country to the north, or a slice of the sea-board to the south; themselves instead taking possession of what was then a No-man's-land to a great extent, a region first populated by Bushmen only. Basutoland should have been, had South Africa been planned with the mind of a Rhodes, the Empire State of South Africa, and that at a time when the act could have been accomplished without the slightest injustice to the indigenes. Now white South Africa finds itself face to face with a vigorous Basuto nation of 350,000, resolute, well-armed, and in possession of a land that is practically unconquerable. Moreover, even if it were conquerable by the expenditure of men and money, the world's conscience will scarcely permit the unprovoked extermination of such a people as the Basuto. At one time it seemed as though, from the white man's point of view, the problem was being solved by strong drink. But South Africa has a conscience now nearly as acute as that of Europe and North America; and throughout South Africa as, happily, throughout the Northern and Southern States, a conviction has been growing up that one of the greatest enemies of health, happiness, and human advance in civilisation is distilled alcohol—a very different thing from wine and beer. The missionaries have fostered the movement, the native chiefs have had the good sense to appreciate its importance, Basutoland is now almost 'total abstaining,' so far as the consumption of harmful spirits is concerned; and consequently its negro population is increasing and prospering by leaps and bounds.

The rise of the native and the creation of this renaissance through the action, mainly, of Christian mission-

aries, is assuming important proportions in the vast basin of the Congo. So heated has become the controversy as to the effect of Belgian enterprise in this direction that it is difficult to do impartial justice on the one hand to the work of many Belgian pioneers, laymen as well as missionaries, and on the other to the movement created and headed by Mr E. D. Morel. In this article the case can only be summed up briefly. King Leopold II obtained in 1885 the mandate of Europe to undertake the control and development of the Congo basin on the understanding that over these vast territories, of which he was becoming sovereign,* native rights would be fully protected; the area, defined by a geographical specification, would be subjected to a régime of Free-trade, be closed absolutely to the liquor traffic, yet be completely open to missionaries of all denominations, and exempted from anything in the form of slavery. Between 1886 and 1894 King Leopold engaged many Europeans (chiefly Belgians) to create the Congo Free State. He spent vast sums of money, and, in order to recoup himself to some extent, created a monopoly in ivory, which might certainly have been considered contrary to the principles of the Berlin Act. But this did not go far to repay him his outlay; and even earlier than the year 1894 he seems to have cast about for some method of raising money which should at any rate balance expenditure.

Then, after 1890, came the invention of the safety bicycle and the pneumatic tyre, and all at once rubber became a product enormously in demand and very insufficiently supplied by the forests of South America or Further India. The writer of this review had drawn attention to the wild rubbers of West Africa in 1887, and simultaneously the rubber forests of Lagos were developed to an extent and with a rapidity which raised the value of the exports of Lagos by millions of pounds sterling. The Congo basin was soon found to be richer in rubber than any other part of Africa, except perhaps the densely-forested regions of the West Coast.

* So far as treaties with the native chiefs or tribes were concerned, the sovereign rights conferred on him by the Congo peoples only covered the banks of the Congo between the cataracts at Matadi and the Equator station on the Bangala, about a fiftieth part of the Congo State.

King Leopold (one may argue from the facts at one's disposal) soon desired, not only to make both ends meet in the development of the Congo Free State, but, as a reward for his speculation—which was rapidly degenerating from philanthropy to sheer commercialism—to place several millions sterling to his private account. The population of the Congo was fairly dense, but it was very wild, and, like all unreclaimed negro peoples, hated continuous and steady labour.*

The missionaries had got hold of many of these tribes contemporaneously with the work of Stanley and other Congo pioneers. Slowly (as it seemed to the impatient mind of Europe) they were weaning the young men and maidens from their half-animal lives of sensuality and purposelessness, to an ordered existence of steady and intelligent work. They might have been ready, had they been asked, to teach some of them to obtain rubber deftly and scientifically, as well as to learn how to make bricks, to build good houses, to fell and square and saw up timber, to drive the engines of steamers, keep accounts, work a printing press, write shorthand, make boots and clothes and furniture, and at the same time not neglect, but rather develope, such few profitable native industries as already existed—such as pottery, cloth-weaving, mat-making, and so forth.

But Europe was in a hurry. English, American, Belgian, and German speculators got into communication with King Leopold, and so great concessionaire companies were organised to which (in common with King Leopold himself) was by degrees allotted almost the whole of the Congo basin within the prescribed limits of the Congo Free State. Except on the narrow band of the Lower Congo, there was practically no room left for Free-trade and the commerce either of the natives or of foreigners not associated with these few great concessionaires. When called upon for a justification, the King pointed to the way in which France had, in a similar fashion, pushed aside the Berlin Act

* At least the *men* disliked a continually industrious life. All over negro-land, on both sides of the Atlantic, the negro *woman* is invariably a hard and steady worker. It is her mate who likes to vary spells of often tremendous labour by episodes of gallantry, hunting, gambling, feasting, or complete repose.

and had divided up French Congo amongst monopolists. These had made haste to exclude, almost unrebuked by the British Government, old-established English firms which, for nearly a hundred years, had been developing a legitimate commerce in the coast regions of the French Congo. His Majesty also waved a hand towards the monopoly of the Royal Niger Company, and the monopolies acquired and worked by the British South Africa Chartered Company.

The British Government made haste to put itself in a correct position as regards the Niger Company, whose charter it had repurchased at the cost of 900,000*l.*; but the best argument with which to answer the apologists of the Congo State was the prescriptions of the Berlin Act, which had *not* been transgressed, so far as they applied, either by the Niger or South Africa Company. That they had been transgressed by France is as obvious as it was in the case of the Congo Free State over which King Leopold was sovereign; and the failure of the British Government to constrain France to abide by the obligations of the Berlin Act made its remonstrances with Belgium seem a little like bullying.

King Leopold therefore, forgetting his original position of a philanthropist wholly disinterested in a desire to elevate the negroes of Central Africa, instead of waiting patiently until, through the teaching of lay and ecclesiastical emissaries, the natives of the Congo basin developed local industries to an extent which gave their country a sound commerce and enabled it to raise a revenue equivalent to its expenditure, misused the native armies he had created to bring pressure to bear on several million naked savages to work constantly and almost unremittingly at the production of rubber and such other produce of the forests and plains as was profitable to the great concessionaires of whom King Leopold himself was the greatest. Many of the Congo people objected to this forced labour; and from that sprang frightful atrocities only to be paralleled in the history of negro slavery in America, atrocities which, as often as not, were committed by irresponsible agents of commercial associations.

That the entry of Belgium into the Congo basin can show other results besides injustice, cruelty, and human

suffering, must be apparent to all who study the question even superficially. Many Belgian officers (civilian or military) conceived a great sympathy and affection for the savages or semi-savages amongst whom they came to live. They built up prosperous native communities, supported with their influence chiefs who were kind, and deposed chiefs who were cruel; they introduced many of the elements of civilisation, and it is admitted by British and American missionaries that many of the native soldiers trained by these Belgians have turned out, in the long-run, admirable members of the community, and even active helpers of the missionaries themselves. Science reaped a rich harvest from Belgian work on the Congo, and the commerce of Belgium was enormously enriched. This last, however, was no source of gratification to such Congo people as remained poor or even became destitute. Outside the districts rich in rubber, many tribes and natives of the Congo basin have gained very greatly in welfare and happiness from the incoming of the European; but much of the present well-being (say in the western Congo, on the northern Mubangi, on the Lualaba) of the Congo peoples is due, not to anything done by King Leopold or his officers, but to the work of British, Belgian, French, American, and Swedish missionaries, who have carried on their really splendid work (I write as an eye-witness) not always with the sympathy of, but occasionally in opposition to, the officials who directed the affairs of the Congo State.

But Mr Morel's argument applies quite as much to British policy in Africa as it does to that of France, Belgium, and other nations; which is why, perhaps, he is almost more disliked in England than in Belgium itself; in which country, by-the-by, it should be noticed, he is able to move about freely, and address public meetings without any hindrance or personal annoyance.

It cannot but be admitted that in his change of policy after 1904 King Leopold II made a great and grievous mistake, so grievous that it has not only balanced but almost extinguished the record of his really philanthropic work in Africa in earlier days—work such as that which, through a gallant Belgian, Captain Storms, practically brought to a conclusion the slave-raiding and trading of the Arabs on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. But those

who are watching the rise of the native—a rise we may dislike for selfish reasons but cannot ignore—must feel that every thwack which resounds from the Morelian battery of Belgian methods—methods which, we have reason to hope, are about to be completely changed—leaves us a little sore in anticipation, since we have not been completely void of fault ourselves in our treatment of native rights in certain parts of South Central Africa.

Fortunately for our own record it must be fully and freely admitted that, in regard to the recognition and defence of native rights, both Foreign and Colonial Offices have been wisely inspired during the last fifteen years. Mr Morel is in the habit of pointing to the happy condition at the present day of the Gambia and Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Lagos, southern and northern Nigeria (especially the four first-named, old-established colonies), which is owing to the full recognition given for some time past to the native rights to the land and the produce of that land. He is able to show that, merely from a commercial point of view, it has turned out a paying policy, as is evidenced by the striking commercial development during recent years of Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos.

Everywhere throughout the world the spirit of Christianity (with some terrible interludes of fanaticism or betrayal) has operated against what might seem in man's affairs to be the survival of the fittest. The Fuegians were a wretched folk when first visited by Darwin in the 'Beagle,' or by the few explorers who preceded him. They are a very different people to-day after fifty years of the South American Mission. They are saved for survival. But their land, though possessing some disadvantages, is quite as habitable and colonisable as Sweden or Saghalien. 'Why bother about the Fuegians,' might say the spirit of anti-Christian science, 'why bother about them any more than you do about their Antarctic wolf, maned sea-lion, or Guanaco? They are failures. Sweep them away without pity, and let their places be taken by Welsh settlers, or better still Scotch, Chilians, or even Araucanians. Whilst you are wasting a lot of time and money trying to civilise the Fuegians you might be building up a prosperous and powerful white state able to play a great part in the Southern Hemisphere.'

Or take the much larger question of South Africa; the same spirit might say, 'Oust the coloured man from every part of South Africa which is fit to sustain a white population, and the result will be in the future a great world power rivalling, even surpassing, the United States of North America.'

If Christianity interposes a veto still sufficiently powerful to enlist the sympathies of a Christian king, to restrain even the most 'Imperialist' of British politicians, it should be quite equal to the holding back of God-fearing Boers, British, and Germans who are resident in South Africa and in a position to dictate that country's working policy. I write advisedly 'God-fearing,' not in the sanctimonious spirit of older days, but as expressing a type of mind very common amongst all races of mankind even at the present day, and most of all, I think, in the races of Europe and North America; a feeling that somehow or other cruelty and injustice even to a beast, and most of all to anything entitled to call itself a man, is out of harmony with the intentions of the Power which is Nature or behind Nature; in other words, that abominable cruelties and needless bloodshed do not pay in the long-run, but react on those who commit such deeds; witness the history of Spain in the New World.*

If the casuistry were worth the waste of time, we might argue plausibly that Christianity—at any rate of a catholic, world-wide nature—is a mistaken impulse; that if its principles are logically applied, their result some day will be the existence of a biscuit-coloured, black-haired, high-cheekboned type of man all the world over, a kind of *rastaquouère*, with the South American's perpetual restlessness in politics, the negro's love of vain display and useless noise, the futile slyness of the Chinaman, and the average white man's dislike of manual labour. The opposite ideal of some Anglo-Saxons would be that the white race should reign as demigods over the rest of the world, keeping its blood absolutely pure from

* Spain, as an Imperial Government, has failed; but the Spaniard and Portuguese showed themselves true colonists, grand nature conquerors in tropical America. See what Spaniards and Portuguese, fresh from the Peninsula or the Islands, are doing in Louisiana, Cuba, Santo Domingo, the Windward Islands, Panama, Guiana, and Brazil under the American, British, Cuban, and Brazilian flags.

intermixture with that of any other human variety, aiming at golden hair, blue eyes, pink cheeks, and a Grecian profile; laying down the law for the black and the coloured men, treating them, in short, as we treat our horses, dogs, and cattle; enforcing sanitation, cleanliness, and a sufficient restraint in morality, but allowing these chattel races no say in the administration of their own affairs. In short, reinstituting the type of slavery that was idealised by the white men of the Southern States before they met in the clash of battle with the North.

But this ideal comes, in any case, too late. Christianity has been there beforehand and has done the mischief; it has sown the dragon's teeth of education. Had there been no Christian impulse in the world, commencing with the discovery of America, or perhaps even preceding that in the embassies sent by various popes to Tartary and China, it might be easier to solve the native problem in that way. In the eighties of the last century, when the Imperial spirit in the United Kingdom received another renaissance, the prospect seemed a most attractive one. The black and yellow world was to be governed with a genial despotism that smacked the naked negro on the back in half-contemptuous admiration of his big muscles, and satisfaction that they were going to be employed in the white man's work; that accepted with a shrug the rose and jasmine garlands flung round our necks by the self-abasing Hindu. Here and there we observed some relic of the Exeter Hall period; such as the granting on equal terms a franchise to white and coloured in Cape Colony, the doctrinaire recognition of creole rights in Mauritius, the trying of white men by black juries at Sierra Leone, the renewal in Jamaica of a limited popular representation. But the idea that there would be ever any *serious* demand on the part of the coloured peoples for a voice in their own taxation and government scarcely disturbed the forecast of any average Imperialist. We were conferring, or about to confer, great boons on the uncivilised peoples of the world. The negro was to be rescued from the Arab and saved from the ravages of the slave trade. Russia was to be kept out of India, and France out of Siam. Every now and then there was a rare Court function at which magnificent Sikh soldiers, Muhammadan princes, Hindu rajahs, or Kafir chiefs (with crude but flattering meta-

phors in their translated speech) made an appearance and were understood to express complete acquiescence in the will of the British sovereign. Nor was their acquiescence feigned. The British Empire had brought them cessation of bloodshed, security of property (above all to those who had property), improvement of communications and of food supply, restraint of native tyrannies and of unreasonable religious beliefs.

But unfortunately for the ideals of the Imperialist Briton of twenty years ago, education was permeating the British Empire in all directions. This education of a European type originated in the missionary efforts of Christianity; and apart from the adoption by the British Government of a policy of widespread education on these Western lines, the many missionary societies—British, American, German, French, Austrian, Norwegian, and Swedish—were everywhere founding schools, colleges, and universities; attempting to make black, brown, and yellow people think and act like white Christians. Moreover, the missionaries were impressing on them over and over again that once they were Christian and civilised (or even civilised without being actually Christian), educated, temperate, and industrious, they were the equal of any man, no matter of what colour or race. About ten years ago began a later phase in which many old pupils of mission schools or Christian universities sought increased knowledge from independent sources, became citizens of the world, and, above all, asked themselves in what, mentally or even physically, they were the inferior of the white man; and if they were not, why they should not assist in governing their own countries.

The issue of the Russo-Japanese war further embittered the relations between the white Governor and the coloured masses. The Japanese were an Asiatic people of partly Mongolian race; at any rate, not white men according to the fastidious ideal of London, New York, and San Francisco. Yet, not being too proud to learn the white man's science, and being in addition exceedingly brave and undivided in national loyalty, they had conquered most completely the second greatest empire of the world, the empire of a people as to whose 'whiteness' there could be no question. The news of the Japanese success was discussed in the

souks of Morocco, the mosques of Egypt and the coffee-houses of Turkey, in Indian bazaars and African mud-houses. It was the first set-back of the Caucasian since the Neolithic period; of the Christian since the Relief of Vienna.

Of course, many who argued in this spirit overlooked the fact that Japan is very largely a white nation; that some of the more northern Japanese in skin colour are as fair as Europeans, and that they are, in the main, a composite people with a considerable underlying stratum of the Proto-Caucasian represented by the still existing Ainus of northern Japan. Japan is aiming at *being* a white nation; and when she thinks of the Corean or the Hindu, the Malay, the Filipino, or even the Chinaman, consciously or unconsciously ranges herself in line with the white peoples of Europe and North America.

Yet her victory, first over herself and secondly over Russia, has given an electric shock to the coloured peoples of the world which makes the task of Europe and white North America additionally hard in what they believe to be their civilising mission. The problem presents itself, amongst other aspects, in the relations between black and white in North America. The millions in money which the North has spent on negro education in the South have produced already a marked effect. Thousands of negro or mulatto doctors, bankers, architects, engineers, lawyers, clergymen, dentists, musicians, botanists, actors, authors, poets, and painters of distinction, leading lives of twentieth-century civilisation in houses or apartments and with appurtenances which would not be out of place in an English town or fashionable suburb, are beginning, in the Southern States, to ask the tribunal of the world's public opinion why they should be treated with many undeserved and mean indignities; why a dirty, opium-dazed Chinaman or a tipsy Amerindian may travel in any car or public carriage with the white people, may, if he chooses, enter a white man's church, theatre, hotel, or lecture hall, while a clean, well-conducted, well-educated negro, mulatto, octoroon, or near-white is denied legally the like privilege. An answer cannot long be delayed to this patiently-repeated question, coming from seven and a half millions of law-abiding, tax-paying, native-born American citizens.

By 1884 this question had been finally solved in the British, French, and Dutch possessions of the West Indies and tropical America. Politically, and to a certain extent socially, there are here no colour distinctions; the negroid and the negro are not by reason of their skin-colour placed in a position of racial inferiority. Education, good manners, property, are the conditions which govern the admittance of all men to the council board or the garden party. That the mulatto, and still more the negro, are still rare in these manifestations of tropical American culture is due not to any bar of the written or unwritten law, but to the great leeway the African race in these regions has to make up in education and money-making capacity. But he starts now with almost the same advantages and opportunities as the white child, and his future lies in his own hands, to be shaped by his own strong arms and precocious brain.

Haiti is less black than she has been painted, and much more civilised than many negro states in Africa; but here the liberated African has made himself a laughing-stock by his slavish attachment to Napoleonic ideals. In Brazil there are eight millions of negroes (and negroids), quite half a million of whom play a considerable part in the political, social, religious, industrial, professional, and commercial circles of this vast confederation.*

Here also in Brazil, as in the United States, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, and Argentina, it is interesting to note the uprise of the Amerindian. As valuable members of a civilised community, the two or three hundred thousand Redmen of the United States are taking up a place quite disproportionate in its importance and popular favour to their still reduced numbers. A good deal of this is owing to the educational work of the Hampton Institute (started in 1867 by the late General Samuel Armstrong, U.S.A.), and to the war against alcohol which has been carried on in the States for fifty years by often jeered at men and women. This crusade has at last secured popularity and the adhesion of the masses. Total abstinence has put new life, new vigour, new thoughts, new wealth into the white South, and it has saved the

* See the articles on Brazil by Dr Max Schmidt, in the Berlin 'Koloniale Rundschau.'

North American Indian from frowsy extinction. Yet he will not survive much longer; he will be absorbed by marriage into the white community. The white people of Anglo-Saxon and Spanish-speaking America, who are getting more and more fastidious about mixing their blood with that of the negro, are becoming less and less averse to inter-marriage with the Amerindian. Nor from the æsthetic point of view can they be blamed; the Canadian half-bloods, the cross between the white American and the Iroquois, between the Spaniard and the Arawak or Carib or Chibcha, Araucanian or Pampas Indian, are a gain to the bodily vigour, manly or womanly beauty of the Caucasian stock. The fine-looking police of Argentina is now mainly pure Amerindian in blood, or of the handsome Gaucho half-breed. The President of Brazil is, like so many Brazilians of note, partly Amerindian in descent. It was the Paulista half-breeds—Portuguese and Amerindian—the ‘Mamelucos,’ who, radiating from the Jesuit college of São Paulo, made Brazil when they joined hands with the similarly-constituted hybrids of Bahia and Pará. The new man of South and Central America, of Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, and Cuba will be nearly half Amerindian in blood unless Europe hurries up and exports millions of white settlers to these fertile summer lands. One way and another, as in the Pacific archipelagoes, the straight-haired, dark-eyed, buff-skinned peoples, compacted of Proto-Caucasian and primitive Mongol, will be absorbed into the white man’s community, except where, from incurable degeneracy, they die out.

Will the world of the twenty-first century be divided into two camps: a cream-coloured Mediterranean type of white man, and a brown-skinned negroid, with hair in which the kink is loosening into the curl, and a facial outline that is assuming the comely features of the Ethiopian and the Fula? And will these two types—perhaps then of equal political standing—proceed to any further approximation? give up the pink and white, golden-haired and blue-eyed ideal, care only for physical vigour and brain power? The godlike heads of our descendants may be shaved all over or electrically depilated; and with hair completely out of fashion we may have ceased to care about its colour or its undula-

tions. Eyes may be screened with lenses for the telescopic or microscopic development of sight; body and limbs be so perpetually protected from heat and cold, germs and bruises, by some closely-fitting, antiseptic garment that only the beauty of its shape be visible and nothing of its skin-colour. In 2100 A.D. there may be no physical or mental reason why negroid and Caucasian should not become one flesh.

But in the present year of grace the tendency among the Nordic races lies in the opposite direction. Political equality with the negro and negroid is grudgingly admitted and granted here and there where these dark races are in a considerable numerical majority, or where the white man so exceeds them in numbers that the concession inspires him with no fear. But physical union, with the inevitable result of creating a secondary yellow race, is more and more scouted as an act of *lèse-majesté* to the Caucasian ideal. Nor is it only a matter of skin-colour. The Amerindian is refusing to mate with the negro in many parts of America where formerly he was willing or eager to do so. The black Caribs of the Honduras coast prefer to marry Amerindian women rather than renew their negro blood (which has made them a very vigorous people) by espousing negresses from Jamaica or British Honduras. Unions between pure-blood Amerindians and negroes in the Guianas and Brazil are increasingly rare. East Indian *kuli* settlers in the West Indies and Guiana now practically never mate with negroes, though Chinese will do so freely; the natives of India who come to East Africa and Natal as merchants, traders, artisans or soldiers keep away from the 'Habshi' women (no blacker than themselves). Soon the only gate of intercourse by which the negro may enter the racial domain of the Caucasian will be (as in the distant past) North Africa and Egypt. But even here, amongst the Berbers and the desert Tuareg—as is well shown in Mr Furlong's fascinating book on Tripoli, 'The Gateway to the Sahara'—racial pride is rising and the nigritic intermixture is eschewed. This perhaps is to be regretted, because the one really satisfactory hybrid (from the mental and physical standpoint) which the negro makes—besides that with the Polynesian and the Amerindian—is with the Berber, Hamite, and Arab.

Yet in the rise of the native few points are so needful of notice as the seven-league strides by which the negro in South Africa, Central and West Africa (and before long in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), is advancing to embrace the white man's civilisation, generally along the path cleared for him by the Christian, and even by the Muhammadan, missionary. For the moment the question of the franchise and the negro member of parliament are shelved in South Africa; but if, with the opportunities now open to them, the negroes of that region continue their intellectual advance, they cannot be for ever excluded from full civic rights, which are based on tests of literacy and property.

So, again, from the point of view of the continued primacy of the Christian white man, the rejuvenation of Turkey under the Constitution is a process which will be watched with the greatest interest, especially by those European nations who are primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order throughout North Africa. It is too soon yet to decide definitely whether, through its new political Constitution, Turkey has gained in homogeneity and national power.* Any revival of Muhammadanism of a dogmatic or fanatical character would be fatal to such a process. The only hope in a great future for the Turkish Empire will be for it to forget that it owes its present shape and name to the devastating invasions of Mongol, Tartar, and Turkish tribes between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. If the so-called Turks could have themselves analysed by an expert anthropologist, they might understand that they are not far different in racial types from the various peoples ruled by the Byzantine emperors; and if Islam could be disestablished as the State religion—in other words, if Turkey would once more call herself Byzantium, and announce that there was *no* State religion, she might include Greece amongst her provinces or vassal kingdoms and play a mighty part in the Mediterranean world of the twentieth century. But she will not (as far as one

* The revival of a 'Great Turkey' hinges a good deal on the recovery by the Turks of a hold over Crete. If Crete is detached from the Turkish Empire, Tripoli and Barka must follow, and with these last any hope of a Turkish establishment on the southern Mediterranean and a connexion with Moslem Africa.

can foresee); and therefore the great Berber peoples of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco must be constrained to re-enter and remain in the domain of that revived Roman Empire of the West which is foreshadowed by the ever more closely-growing understanding between Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

Spain has been much abused in the British, French, and Italian press for attempting to subdue at any rate a portion of the Riff country and play a more active part in the organisation of Morocco. It seems to me that any real friend of the Moors who has seen what the French have achieved in Algeria and Tunis can only wish that France and Spain united may push on their work of controlling and educating Morocco. Reduce to nudity a number of Spaniards from southern Spain, and Moors from northern Morocco, and you would scarcely be able to discriminate between the two peoples, provided you have taken care that the examples collected from Morocco were free from negro intermixture. It is the Sudan that has undone Morocco, as may be realised by reading that remarkable work (crowned by the French Academy), '*Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*,'* by M. Eugène Aubin. The conquest of northern and western Nigeria by the Moorish generals at the close of the sixteenth century, combined with the slave trade thence during the next two hundred years (which was largely carried on to oblige the British merchants trading for slaves with the Barbary ports), has negrified a good deal of Morocco, with disastrous results to its art, literature, and standard of civilisation.

What if there be a plan for working Morocco mines by Spanish capitalists? Why is such an idea more heinous than the development of the gold-mines in West and South Africa by British companies? Look at the prosperity which has been brought to Algeria and Tunis by the working of mines there through English, Scottish, French, Italian, and Maltese capitalists!† Of what use to the people of the Riff at the present day are unworked mines, locked up wealth which cannot be put in circulation? With all our sentiment and the sincere desire that

* An English translation, under the title of '*Morocco of To-day*,' was published by Messrs J. M. Dent in 1906.

† An excellent description of present-day problems in Tunisia is given in '*The Veil; a Romance of Tunisia*,' by E. S. Stevens (Mills and Boon, 1909).

we may have to carry out the logical, the inevitable, results of a belief in the ethics of Christianity, we must realise, firstly, that the condition of barbarous peoples in Barbary, in the wastes of Central Africa, the Malay Peninsula, or South America, is little better than the existence of an animal, has scarcely more effect on its environment than the movements and wrangles of baboons. To develop the nomad or the savage into a civilised man, money must be spent; vocal appeal and example are of themselves insufficient. If we are to fertilise Africa, South America, eastern Asia, with money, we must apply to our brother white man; and the white man objects to putting his money into these enterprises unless he has some reasonable security that it will come back to him with, at any rate, some percentage of profit. Hence these concessions, monopolies, and privileges. It must be the task of the philanthropist and the statesman combined so to adjust the conditions of capital and labour, of native rights, and of the foreigner's concessions, that both civilised and uncivilised peoples alike shall profit from the interchange.

The native problems of the British Empire in Africa are not limited to those regions south of the Zambezi where there is a large indigenous white population. In negro and negroid Africa the coloured peoples are raising eyes to meet our gaze. The brown millions of Egypt are asking for independence from our control, or rather a few voices of very white Egyptians of Armenian, Turkish, and Circassian origin, are assuming the right to protest against the British occupation in the name of the ten million silent fellahin. Somalis and Wa-swahili, Baganda and Masai, Hausa and Fula, Nupe and Efik, Yoruba and Egba, Ashanti and Fanti, Mandingo and Temne, are requesting, for the most part politely, that they may be consulted and even allowed to participate in the management of their own affairs in their own countries, which we are governing more and more in a disinterested fiduciary way, only being repaid for our trouble by the increase in our unprivileged commerce.

As we are listening to their aspirations—they who were, some of them, cannibals, and nearly all of them unlettered barbarians yesterday—we can scarcely close our ears to the hum of discontent which comes from nine

or ten millions of Indians whose ancestors were on the one side akin to our own progenitors four or five thousand years ago, though on the other they derive from Australoid and negro.

Under a hundred years of more or less direct British rule, the rise of the native races of India to a consciousness of their rights as human beings has been marked. Finding we were not the inhuman monsters to the which as rulers they had been only too much accustomed since the first Afghan invasion of 1000 A.D., they have been speaking out with ever-increasing boldness as to their needs and aspirations; and we, having spread education broadcast, should neither be surprised nor dismayed. Whatever mistakes may be committed by individuals among the British in India—usually persons of minor social importance—it must be obvious to any impartial student of recent Indian history that the undeviating desire of the great personages in India and Britain, connected with the Imperial Government, has been to rule India mainly for the benefit of the 300,000,000 of diverse peoples living in the vast region between central Persia and Siam, Tibet and Ceylon. Throughout all this stretch of southern tropical Asia there is a certain homogeneity of fauna, flora, trade-products, and culture. And we have supplied this Empire with a *lingua franca*—Hindustani—which is an almost unfailing medium of intercommunication, for all but savages, within the limits cited.

There is, however, no uniformity of race throughout the Indian Empire, nor is there likely to be for several centuries. The fundamental races of India are the Australoid, the negro, and the Proto-Mongolian (with long, lank head-hair, hairless body, yellow skin, flat face, and small nose). The mingling of all three stocks has produced the Dravidian type, which prevails over so much of India—Bengal, central, eastern, western, and southern Peninsular India. In the forests of southern and South-central India aboriginal negroes still linger, the photographs of whom, if placed among a series of African types, might well be attributed to Africa; the lowly Australoids still lead a savage, naked existence also in southern India and in Ceylon; the Mongols of ancient and modern origin permeate most markedly northern and north-eastern India, and, fused in varying degrees with a

negroid element, supply almost the whole population of Burma. In Persia and Afghanistan we have, almost pure, the Mediterranean type of white man, with traces here and there of an ancient Nordic strain, giving grey eyes and brown or even yellow hair. The mixture of this white race, ancient and modern, with the pre-existing negroids, Australoids, and Mongols, of north-western and northern India, gives us the 'handsome' Indians of to-day—the Brahui, Baluchi, Kachi, Sindhi, and Panjabi; the Jat, the Rajput, and the Muhammadan Bengali. Along the Malabar coast there has (as also in Sindh) been much Arab immigration and intermixture.

Some of the direct difficulties of maintaining an Imperial sway (resulting in peace, unchecked commerce, law, justice, and the amenities of life) over such diverse racial stocks and mutually antagonistic peoples, have been avoided by retaining or restoring native rulers, belonging more or less to indigenous or dark-skinned dynasties. In this way some 870,000 square miles (including the British sphere of influence in South-eastern Persia) out of the total 1,946,000 square miles of the Indian Empire are disposed of comfortably. Herein the rise of the native is only a testimony to the wisdom of our Imperial supervision and occasions us no heart-searching or anxiety. No doubt if we could have foreseen the problems which would be created by our improvements in India we should have been far more eager in the past to maintain and educate native dynasties, and much more of India would have been feudatory rather than subject.

As it is, King Edward VII is the direct ruler and sovereign lord over 1,097,901 square miles of the Indian Empire. And in several of the provinces under his sway his Indian subjects are asking for some degree of representation—one might almost write some *further* degree of representation, since in the Provincial Legislative Councils there were a few members elected by communities of Indians—in the framing of laws and the raising and spending of revenue. This demand has not been uninfluenced in its later phases by the establishment of constitutional government in the Turkish Empire and in Persia.

In all probability the matter—being of Imperial and not of partisan importance—would have been dealt with

on much the same lines had a Conservative Secretary of State for India occupied the post filled by Lord Morley of Blackburn since 1905. However that may be, the Viceroy—appointed under a Conservative Administration—and the present Secretary of State for India have joined their counsels and proposals in certain measures of far-reaching importance for the better administration of Indian affairs, and the prudent introduction of an elective element into the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. The outcome of their collective statesmanship was described in a recent number of the 'Quarterly Review,' and its general provisions are sufficiently well-known to require no recapitulation. We need only remark that their general principles were well received by the intelligent natives of India, but a good many of their details were objected to.

By the information published in the special Calcutta Gazette of November 15, 1909, it is made clear that on the Imperial Council for all British India there will be 68 members with an 'official' majority of 3 over the non-official (nominated and elected) element. As regards the Provincial Councils, there will now be on all of them a *non-official* majority, which in Bengal will number 12, and in Burma 3, the numbers of non-official in excess of official members on the other Councils ranging from 12 to 5. As regards *elected* members of all the Councils, the total number set down in earlier proposals was 39; it is now proclaimed to be 135. The full number of Imperial and Provincial Councillors (official, nominated, and elected) is now 370 in the finished scheme, as against 126 in the first projects.

But 'no person is eligible for election if the Imperial or a Provincial Government is of opinion that his election would be contrary to public interest.' These Councils, of course, remain 'advisory.' The fullest discussion of measures proposed by the Executive will be permitted; they may ask for and will be supplied with information, may 'initiate and suggest' definite resolutions, and will 'be enabled to take a real and active part in shaping financial proposals.' British India thus secures on its Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils the advantage of much expert native advice; and although the Viceroy's Cabinet (the Executive) is not bound to accept that ad-

vice, yet if all the elected (and perhaps some nominated) native councillors were opposed to a measure initiated by the Viceroy's Government, it is improbable that it would be persisted in, unless the Viceroy was possessed of information or Imperial instructions of such tremendous importance that native opinion or scope of view must be overpassed. As an electorate, the 240,000,000 living immediately under British administration are indirectly represented by great communities of nobles, landholders, priests, men of commerce, manufacturers, lawyers, and bankers. This very limited direct electorate represents at present all that there is in the way of education and world-knowledge in British India, in that approximate half of the Indian Empire in which there are only about 700,000 native Indians able to read, write, and speak English, and not much more than 9,000,000 (out of a population of, say, 240,000,000)* who are able to read and write in their own vernacular.

The Muhammadans, possibly the Sikhs, and certainly the Parsis, seem on the whole to be contented with this measure of administrative reform and this much improved degree of native representation in the law-making of India. But the Muhammadans are scarcely more than 55,000,000 at the present day (in strictly British India), whereas, in the same area of the Indian Empire, there are about 162,000,000 of Hindus, at least 10,000,000 of Buddhists, over 2,000,000 of Christians, 1,700,000 Sikhs, and 500,000 Jains.†

The Hindu section of the community which so largely predominates in numbers, complains with some bitterness of its proportionately inferior representation in the Imperial and Provincial Legislatures of India. It is possible, in fact, that even under the final regulations just published some disproportion does exist in favour of the Muhammadans. The Hindus, who represent approximately 68 per cent. of the present population of British India, instead of having 68 per cent. of representation on the Imperial Council may have to be content with 50 per cent., while the Muhammadans, who

* The figures for 1908 for *all* India are 15,686,421 literates (able to read and write in the vernacular) out of a population of nearly 300,000,000.

† Only round numbers are given, and these are approximately calculated, not for the year of the last census, 1901, but for the year 1909.

only represent about 23 per cent. of the total, will have something like 45 per cent. of the representation.

But although the Bluebook from which some of this information is quoted does not say so, we have reason to believe that, as regards education in the vernacular—that is to say, ability to read, write, and keep accounts—the proportion is very much higher amongst the Muhammadan community in India than it is amongst the Hindus. Amongst the adult males of the 55,000,000 Muhammadans, something like 75 per cent. can read and write in Hindustani or kindred languages, and probably 10 per cent. are acquainted with English. On the other hand, education amongst the 162,000,000 Hindus is not nearly so far advanced; perhaps only 20 per cent. of the adult males can read and write in the vernacular, and 3 per cent. are acquainted with English.

Also—if one is to speak out without fear of offence, and to tell the naked truth from the British point of view—the 162,000,000 Hindu men, women, and children follow for the most part wholly unreasonable forms of religion, quite incompatible with modern ideas of physical development, social progress, sanitation, avoidance of cruelty, and unrestricted intercourse with one's fellow men. Hindu students of advanced education reproach us frequently, and very often justly, with our lack of politeness and tact, want of sympathy for any different race, exclusiveness, etc. But how much greater are the social sins in this respect of the Brahman and the whole Hindu system of caste! The Englishman at his worst recognises the Hindu as a fellow man, and, among the lower orders, does not disdain to unite in some sort of marriage with a Hindu woman. He would, if need be, share food and drink with Hindus or any other natives of India. At his best, the Englishman makes himself profoundly well acquainted with Hindu languages, the intricacies of Hindu religion, poetry, folk-lore, customs, and prejudices. The Brahman scarcely acknowledges the common humanity of the low caste and the pariahs, sponges on them, plunders them, tricks them, violates their women, abuses them in every possible way, and has done so for an unknown number of centuries. Instead of placing his great social influence—for he is regarded by the ignorant masses as a demigod—at the disposal of

a civilised Government for the suppression of disease, the increased production of food, the provision of a reasonable degree of meat diet for the toiling millions, and the general betterment of the country, he pursues a reverse policy. The one desire of nine Brahmans out of ten is to oppose *any* measures for improved sanitation and extirpation of disease, and to maintain their position as long as they can by feeding the superstitions and inflaming the prejudices against innovation of the 100,000,000 or so of their illiterate fellow religionists. If all forms of the Hindu religion—Brahmanism—could be submitted to an impartial world-congress of non-Hindus, the members of which were selected from all parts of non-Hindu Asia, from America, Europe, and Africa, the Hindu religion would be universally condemned as a mixture of nightmare-nonsense and time-wasting rubbish fulfilling no useful end whatever, only adding to the general burden borne by humanity in its struggle for existence. And, of course, so long as 200,000,000 Indians remain attached to these preposterous faiths, with their absurd and useless ceremonials and food taboos, so long (if for that reason alone) will the British be justified in ruling the Indian Empire with some degree of absolutism.

From this same point of view the Muhammadans of India, and Muhammadanism generally, are also open to criticism. Much that was very foolish in the various Syrian faiths which came into existence between 5000 B.C. and 600 A.D. was gathered up by the inspired Arab camel driver and implanted on the minds of one of the world's noble races—the Arabs—who combined this nonsense with some practices that were pure and good. But in general the Islamic faith of western Asia and the northern half of Africa, of Central Asia, India, and Malaysia, has become a coarser Judaism, tinged with Manichæan and Gnostic beliefs combined with Egyptian and Syrian accretions of Christianity, the whole interwoven with strands of ancient Babylonian faiths. Because of the common origin of many of these beliefs, Muhammadanism is closely affiliated to Judaism and, in a lesser degree, to Christianity. These affinities in a way are precious, as they should constitute a triune bond of sympathy between the Jew, the Christian, and the Muhammadan, between, as the Arabs say, the 'people of the Book'; and perhaps,

when the faiths of all three have been purified from external nonsense, they may find themselves scarcely divided as to first principles and general practices.

But where in India Muhammadanism stands in the way of progress, is in its treatment of woman, its condonation of polygamy and the Harim, its ridiculous food taboos (as though, if you eat flesh at all, it is wicked to eat well-fed, well-cooked pig than beef, mutton, goat, antelope, or venison, or as if the European method of killing in a slaughter-house was less sanitary than throat-cutting 'in the name of God'). Any one who thinks these diatribes undeserved has only to ask how far modern Muhammadanism fetters social liberty and the range of man's thought and experiments in Constantinople at the present day (even under the New Turk régime), and to remember that even greater difficulties emanate from the fanatical Muhammadan millions in India. Still, all said and done, the Muhammadans of India are our brothers in thought and sentiment when we contemplate the enormous gulf that separates the common-sensible, educated Briton from the Brahman. If all India were either Sikh or Jain it would deserve, and would be able rightly to exercise, the largest powers of self-government.

But in dealing with the Muhammadan and the Hindu in India we must remember the position and the aspect of Afghanistan. If the 55,000,000 Indian Muhammadans are worthy of their great proportion of representation on these Indian Councils—and in future of even greater consideration—they must bring the great weight of their influence to bear on the two or three millions of Afghans who are for ever and perpetually stirring up expensive trouble for the British Empire in the frontier districts, who are the predominant excuse (if one be needed) for the permanent British occupation of India, since it has been almost invariably from Afghanistan that India has been raided and ravaged, blood-stained and deflowered from 1000 A.D. to the present day. And these Afghan raids have been far worse in their consequences since, to a natural desire for plunder and new homes, the Afghans added the most odious development known of Muhammadan religious fanaticism. While their armies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may have stopped short at North-central India, their adventurers permeated

India as successful robbers and founders of dynasties; and it was largely to protect themselves against the raids and exactions of the Afghan tribes or individuals that the many millions of Hindus so eagerly and placidly accepted British domination. So far as the great Mutiny of 1857-8 is concerned, Hindu disloyalty then was a mere accident. This Mutiny derived its seriousness from being a real attempt on the part of the Muhammadans of India, backed up by the Afghans and the Persians, to found once again a Muhammadan Empire at the expense of the Englishman and the Hindu. Active Hindu dislike to British rule, and consequent disloyalty, really only came into being about the commencement of the eighties of the last century. It was due partly to the new European education spreading amongst the students of Bengal, and to a certain tactlessness among the lesser British administrators in Bengal; perhaps, too, somewhat and sometimes to the manners of the British *mem-sahib* and of her eye-glassed husband. It is in the main only justified by seemingly slight and removable causes. The Hindus of Bengal and other Indian provinces have now shown themselves just sufficiently educated (as men of the world) to deserve that amount of representation which is being accorded to them in the government of India at the present day. If they are to deserve a greater and greater amount of representation, a wider and wider franchise, they must abolish the nonsense of caste and desert nearly all the lesser precepts of their fantastical religions; they must spread widely a suitable education amongst their people and co-operate willingly and gladly with the demands of science, being able to judge of the value of these demands by participating much more seriously in the study of practical science and modern engineering in their own schools and in their college courses in England or Germany, and not devoting quite so much time and attention to the *fourberies* of British and Indian law.

A writer in a recent number of the 'Review of Reviews' draws attention to a further widening of the rift between the English and the educated natives of India; these last complain (he says) of the impolite and unsympathetic way in which they are treated by the English people, and contrast this with the courteous

behaviour of the French and Germans. In consequence of this difference of treatment Indian students are proceeding now to the United States, to France, and to Germany for their higher education; to countries where they will not be shouted after by the street boys, as in London, Cambridge, Oxford, Birmingham or Manchester; where the landladies of their apartments will be more obliging, and their white fellow-students less insolent.

There would seem to be some truth at the bottom of these bitter criticisms of English (not Scottish or Irish) manners. I could not myself, on a recent journey, fail to notice the number of Indian students at the educational institutions of the United States, or the reasons they gave for their preference; while the partiality for Germany or France over England (Edinburgh is still in favour) among not only Indian students, but also Brazilians, Haitians, Egyptians, and Syrians, makes one question whether we behave quite as Imperially towards the coloured races of the world as the more self-satisfied among us assert. Unfortunately one of the few public men who had taken this matter to heart, and had sought to give social help and countenance to the Indian student, was himself shot by a crazy Indian.

As a philosopher surveys the different sections of the British Empire with his eyes and ears, or, by the help of the books of shrewd observers, British and foreign, he might conceivably arrive at these conclusions. That no white race known to history has dealt so well or so wisely with savages and with toiling millions of peasants as Britain; nor has any Imperial Power ever so completely won and retained the confidence of its feudatories, of the nobles, the warriors, the wealthy, among its subject peoples. With both extremes we do well, and have no change to make in our manners. Where at present we break down is in our treatment of the new middle class—the educated, uneasy, touchy, suspicious people whom our rule has called into existence, yet whose political rights are ill-defined or non-existent. They are not usually very good-looking, nor have they the enthralling interest of the unreclaimed savage. No Court could give a better or more ennobling reception to its Indian princes, kings, nobles, or wealthy philanthropists, than that of St James's; in no other country would an African chief,

an Egyptian pasha, or a Chinese mandarin meet with such sympathetic and gracious hospitality. But we are not at home with the middle class, the educated, European-clothed, students, lawyers, clerks, doctors, and engineers, growing up fast in the West and East Indies, in West and South Africa, in the Levant, and the Far East—growing up and asking for political recognition. Frankly we don't like them. We rescued their forefathers from slavery or serfdom, from the home or foreign money-lender, the bloody-minded oppressor or false prophet; chid some of them (half-amused) for cannibalism, and others for polygamy; appreciated their naked fidelity; or were ready *sans mauvaise grâce* or patronage to shoot big game with their rulers and aristocrats. But we now look askance at the—if civilly entreated, effusive; if scornfully ignored, abusive—middle product of our intermeddling; at the mission-educated son of the slave, the journalist sprung from the loins of a Parsi grocer, or the minor celebrity whose parent was a popular donkey-boy, a dragoman, or a fetish doctor. Yet it is men of this class who have made the Turkish Revolution, and led the Nationalist movement in Persia to, at any rate, a temporary success; these alone are the people who agitate for representative government in India and South Africa.

It must be our business now to meet halfway this middle-class of our own creation; to sympathise with their difficulties and aspirations, on the borderland between the old and the new; to trust them gradually with sobering responsibilities. It is due to us from them, however, that they gain our confidence by abandoning noisy declamation and useless violence. There are two ways of gaining the whole-hearted esteem of the Englishman. One is to contend valiantly with him in battle. But that accomplishment still leaves you poor in knowledge and in worldly goods. The other plan, and the surest, is to work hard (as he generally does) and make lots of money. The possession of money is a guarantee of good behaviour and almost invariably leads to the enlargement of political abilities, and to prudence in the use of the franchise.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

Art. 7.—WHAT THE POOR WANT.

1. *The Condition of England*. By C. F. G. Masterman. London: Methuen, 1909.
2. *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country. The Next Street But One. From Their Point of View. An Englishman's Castle*. Four vols. By M. Loane. London: Arnold, 1905-9.
3. *At the Works: a Study of a Manufacturing Town*. By Lady Bell (Mrs Hugh Bell). London: Arnold, 1907.
4. *The Bettesworth Book: Talks with a Surrey Peasant*. By George Bourne. London: Lamley, 1900. *Memoirs of a Surrey Labourer: a Record of the Last Days of Frederick Bettesworth*. By the same author. (First published, 1907.) London: Duckworth, 1909.
5. *The Autobiography of a Super-Tramp*. By W. H. Davies. With a Preface by Bernard Shaw. London: Fifeild, 1908.
6. *Reminiscences of a Stonemason*. By a Working Man. London: Murray, 1908.
7. *Speaking rather Seriously*. By W. Pett Ridge. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908.
8. *First and Last Things: a Confession of Faith and Rule of Life*. By H. G. Wells. London: Constable, 1908.

WHATEVER the value of socialism as a theory or an ideal or a political system, there stands this much to its credit; it has had by far the greatest share in awakening our present-day consciousness that a nation is an indivisible body, every part of which must ultimately suffer if any one part becomes or remains diseased. In that awakening it was but natural that the fully articulate classes, among whom discussion is fast and fairly free, should concentrate their attention chiefly upon the very apparent diseases of the less articulate classes, which can only speak up for themselves, at best, through the comparatively clumsy machinery of elections and trade unions. Social reform has come very largely to mean reform of those inarticulate classes. They are different in their habits and customs; therefore it seems they are probably wrong. Materially they are unsuccessful, else they would have risen in life; and therefore they must be wrong; or at least, in an age which judges success

in living by material prosperity, they are fit objects of pity. On that basis, the public interest in them has grown apace. In times past the poor, oppressed beyond endurance, have forced their grievances with violence upon those in authority; and in general their action has been ratified by history. To-day the country is exceedingly well policed. But it is safe to say that never before has so much voluntary interest been taken in the welfare and the shortcomings of the poor, and in what the articulate classes feel ought to be their grievances, whether they are or not. The country so swarms with organisations for improving the lot of the poor, or the poor themselves, that big organisations to organise little organisations have been found necessary, and so on *ad infinitum*. Free and compulsory education is always going to do great things. Unemployment has ceased to be regarded as a misfortune that cannot be helped, a call to charity and nothing more. By both the great political parties it is treated as an evil that must be ended, or at any rate mended, if possible. No Royal Commission has ever excited so much interest as the one which recently issued Majority and Minority Reports upon the Poor Laws and relief of distress. Books dealing with the poor increase. They need not now be lurid to find readers, though it is still an advantage if they are humorous. It is significant that in 'The Condition of England'—a peculiarly sensitive impression which its author, one of our youngest and sincerest politicians in high office, will use presumably as a starting-point for his future legislative work—Mr C. F. G. Masterman treats the poor, not as the débris of our civilisation, but as an integral part of it, as the most hopeful part indeed.

'England, for the nation or foreign observer, is the tone and temper which the ideals and determinations of the middle class have stamped upon the vision of an astonished Europe. It is the middle class which stands for England in most modern analyses. . . .

'But below this large kingdom, which for more than half a century has stood for "England," stretches a huge and unexplored region which seems destined in the next half-century to progress towards articulate voice, and to demand an increasing power. It is the class of which Matthew Arnold, with the agreeable insolence of his habitual attitude,

declared himself to be the discoverer, and to which he gave the name of the "Populace" . . .

'The Multitude is the People of England.'

Mr Masterman quotes with approval a saying of Renan's, to the effect that 'the heart of the common people is the great reservoir of the self-devotion and resignation by which alone the world can be saved.' And there precisely, in that question of heart, lies one of the greatest obstacles to an understanding between the classes and the masses. Investigate the common people's outward conditions of life, but how investigate that heart of theirs, which they do not wear upon their sleeve for those whom they consider daws to peck at? Appeal to their heart and head, but how be sure that they will not reject the appeal with scorn because its proportion of heart to head is not the proportion they hold good? For among the poor the heart takes a very decided precedence of the head. The most open-minded interest in them is called exploration by those interested. By the poor themselves it is more often called curiosity, an impertinence—such an impertinence as would be condemned by everybody if a doctor, without being called, went to a well-to-do household and said oracularly: 'Consumption is a curse. I wish to know how many inches each member of this household keeps his or her window open at night, and what you each have for meals, and how it is cooked, and how many baths each person has a week; for the skin is an important organ. Also I wish to know, for completeness' sake, how many thousands a year the head of the household earns, and what the daughters have for pin-money. By-the-by, burn your Turkey carpets and plush curtains; they harbour microbes. It is nothing to medical science that those dust-collecting ornaments were gifts. Efficiency has no room for sentiment. I shall continue coming until each person satisfies me on all those points, and for my visits you will have to pay, if not directly in fees, then indirectly, through the rates and taxes.' Is not the income-tax—the most frequently evaded of all taxes—still denounced as inquisitorial by those fortunate enough to have taxable incomes? To read the books whose names head this article is to see how intensely the poor hate being questioned. To have much to do with them is to know it. 'I can't

bear for people to be inquisitive,' says Bettesworth, the Surrey labourer. 'What's the use o' talking to they question-asking fellers?' I often hear. 'They asks 'ee questions wi'out end, an' so long as you wags your tail an' tells 'em what they wants to hear, they goes on wasting their time, an' yours too. But so soon as you begins to tell 'em the truth, what you thinks, an' they don't like it, an' p'raps you can't explain yourself proper, then "Good day!" they says, an' walks away. An' all o' it don't make things no better. You'm down; they'm up. They got you down, an' down they means to keep 'ee. An' all you tells 'em only gives 'em the advantage to do so. 'Tisn't no use their talking. What they gives 'ee one way, they makes 'ee pay for another, aye! an' pay dear. They don't mean no harm, p'raps, but they does it. They can't help o' it. 'Tis their way. Some things they makes better, others worse. 'Tis all the same in the long run. If you want help, help yourself, always was an' always will be; an' that sort o' help don't make 'ee feel dubious 'bout it nuther.' Such an outburst may seem unreasonable, suspicious, and ill-natured. At all events, it is typical, the outcome of hard experience, and it has to be reckoned with like any other set of class opinions. And whether unreasonable or not, one needs only imaginative sympathy or, better still, a similar experience to feel much the same, whatever opinion one may form about it afterwards. 'Put yourself in his place,' Miss Loane and Lady Bell repeat. Furthermore, Miss Loane complains that it is exceedingly difficult to get from the poor any truthful information about themselves. But why should they give it—speaking always from their point of view? One of their nicknames for an inspector is 'the bogey-man.' After three or four years of life in a working-man's home as one of the family—not from necessity exactly, nor yet as an investigator, but from choice—I confess frankly that I should not hesitate to hoodwink an inspector, not simply for the sheer joy of balking him, but as revenge for his intrusion into our home. Certainly investigation must precede effective aid (though it is still doubtful whether simple generosity does not oftener hit the mark), and for understanding knowledge is needful. But that form of interest in the poor which relies overmuch upon

inspection and investigation may so easily take wrong lines, may so easily defeat itself.

'The history of a few working-class families observed for a long period,' declares Miss Loane, whose experience as a Queen's Nurse is unrivalled, 'affords more valuable data than any number of isolated facts.' Those who go to a few of the poor with sympathy and affection for them as individuals, as fellow men and women, are likely to learn more—of good, chiefly—than ever they thought there was to be learnt; but those who descend thither as impartial investigators, or with a merely idealistic sympathy and affection for the mass, will gain next to nothing. It is the spirit that quickeneth, as much in social reform as in religion, as much among the poor as among their so-called betters.

Aloof interest, however acute, scientific and statistical investigation, however thorough, cannot lay hold of spirit. A simply idealistic love for the poor can do no more than see darkly its trend and force. Only a personal love and friendship, a genuine intimacy, can hope to follow the workings of their spirit and to fathom the complex motives for their actions. A change of method is needed in approaching them. Miss Loane's vigorous paragraph on short cuts to sociological knowledge cannot be taken too deeply to heart :

'It is exceeding difficult for the upper classes to gain any fair idea of the ordinary domestic relations among the poor, and when they seek for information they too often forget to make allowance for the fact that the chosen teachers are all more or less blinded by their profession. Is it reasonable to ask the club doctor and the district nurse if the lower classes are healthy, to ask the coroner if they are sober and know how to feed their children, the police magistrate if they are honest and truthful, the relieving officer if they are thrifty, the labour master if they are industrious, the highly orthodox clergyman if they are religious, and then call the replies received, KNOWLEDGE OF THE POOR.'

Yet that, of course, has been the usual procedure !

That a more reasonable, a more human interest in the poor is at last coming into being, is evidenced by the above-mentioned books ; by the bare fact that publishers, readers, and a measure of success, have been found for this dozen volumes, all of them, with the partial excep-

tion of Mr Masterman's and Mr Wells's, intimate studies at first hand of life among the poor, and all of them controverting a host of too easily accepted notions about this subject. Mr Masterman's is mainly a study at second hand, in the same sense that history is a study at second hand, of first hand material. It is a survey of results attained. Its title, 'The Condition of England,' will bear two meanings. It refers to the condition of England during the first decade of the twentieth century, and also to the many new standpoints from which that condition is now being investigated.

The extremely rapid growth of interest in the poor has carried with its definite advantages certain equally definite disadvantages. It has overgrown its age, so to speak; is somewhat hectic, very startled, and in a desperate hurry. It would be amusing, were it not so depressing, to watch the Labour members, for instance, trying to drag labouring men (for their own good) into agreement with views which they are supposed to hold, but which, as a matter of fact, they do not hold when it comes to acting upon them. (Hence Mr Masterman's paradox, that 'socialism gathers strength in good times but wanes in bad.') 'What on earth be 'em kicking up such a buzz about?' asks the poor man in wonderment when the newspapers devote headlines to his affairs, and new Acts, with new penalties attached, come tumbling upon his head from on high. After being left to fend for himself—with a success much greater in reality than in appearance—he suddenly finds himself regarded as incapable of taking care of himself in any respect whatever. He sees, dimly perhaps, that his democratic leaders flatter him and hold him in contempt at the same time. He is treated like a child badly brought up by its parents, a child very wronged and very naughty. If he could, and if he would, express his own private opinion with a frankness which he has found to be inexpedient, and with a particularity for which elections afford no scope, his well-wishers would be more than surprised. 'Why,' they would ask, 'should he still be so ungrateful and resentful? See what we have done for him. See what we have given him.' Miss Loane provides a partial explanation: 'After all, giving is an exercise of power, and we must not expect that the persons who suffer our kindness will find it a wholly

pleasurable experience.' The difficult art of giving, it seems, lies very much in giving people what they really desire, what they are ready and waiting for. In other words, it requires boundless tolerance and patience. Reforms are needed badly enough in many directions, but it should always be borne in mind that what seems reform to the giver may be reformatory to the recipient. That which dissatisfies the poor man in his own life is not, as a rule, what horrifies the legislating onlooker. And it cannot be denied that the poor man knows his own life better than any one else can know it for him.

The rapid growth of interest in the poor—I am, of course, very far from denying that it is a good and a most necessary thing—has had another result of doubtful advantage. The quicker a forced march, the greater the number who fall out at different stages and march no more. Similarly, there is at the present time nothing approaching any uniformity of attitude towards the poor on the part of the not-poor. 'The rich despise the working people; the middle classes fear them,' remarks Mr Masterman. But indeed the diversity of attitudes is by no means as simple as that. I shall not forget the look of a lady at a literary luncheon, who asked me if I did not find the habit of 'week-ending' greatly interfere with Society, and to whom I replied that I hardly knew, because in working for a fisherman it was my duty most of the summer to take people out in boats for two shillings an hour, and sometimes tips. Working for a fisherman? Yes; most interesting and healthy. Work with the hands is no longer shameful. But tips! Tips! (Let me add, however, that the lady made a good recovery from the shock.) The well-to-do man may fully believe that the poor man is his equal in the sight of God, and perhaps even in the sight of man, but he does not feel the poor man sufficiently his equal to hobnob with him and introduce him to his women-folk, however perfect in propriety the poor man may be. A lawyer, say, may go so far as to admit that a fisherman is a specialist, fully as learned in his own branch of knowledge as a K.C., but he will not have for him the same fellow-feeling that he has for a doctor or for the most hated professional opponent. The latter, the involuntary, is the kind of attitude I mean. It comes uppermost in times of stress, and almost always

prevails in the end. To name only a few of such attitudes towards the poor: there is that general attitude, spoken of 'rather seriously' by Mr Pett Ridge, which makes mischief and damage by rich men's sons a case of 'boys will be boys,' but by poor men's sons a case for the police court. There is what, for the sake of distinction, may be called the Old Tory ideal of 'the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate,' and its modern equivalent, 'the poor man in his East-end and the rich man in his West.' It is, among the various attitudes, not that which the poor themselves understand and sympathise with least. At its best, it has room for many kindly relationships. At its worst, it more than merits the irony of Anatole France:

'He asks what goodness is, because goodness is not in him, and he is devoid of virtue. I answer him, "The knowledge of goodness resides in virtuous men; and good citizens carry within them a proper respect for the law. . . . For the duty of the poor is to defend the good things belonging to the rich; and this is how the union betwixt citizens is maintained. This is goodness and good order. Again, the rich man has his serving-man bring out a basket full of bread, which he distributes to the poor; and this is goodness again." These are the lessons this rough ignorant fellow requires to be taught.'

Industrially, the same attitude is apt to express itself somewhat thus: 'So long as the beggars do their work properly and I pay them what I ought (according to me), why not let well alone? What they do and how they live, outside their work, is no concern of mine. They're getting too damn'd lazy and cheeky with their talk about rights. I believe my wife takes them things when they're ill, but I tell her she's sure to catch something or other in their wretched hovels. She'd far better pay for another district nurse, if she wants to, or send an inspector.' The fine democratic ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and *vox populi, vox dei*, degenerate pitifully, amid actuality's rough and tumble, to the cynicism and moral unscrupulousness of election managers. In the intellectual field we admire with a shiver the boundless self-confidence of a Fabian Society in the direction of knowing what is good for people and managing them to their own advantage. At the opposite pole we have that charitable attitude

which, basing itself upon such axioms as 'The poor always ye have with you,' is apt to take the diseases of the body politic and social as inevitable and a matter of course, as fortunate opportunities for the exercise of virtuous charity. 'If there were no poor,' I have heard such people argue, 'it would be Christianity's loss. Therefore we must have poor.'

The imperialistic attitude again which regards the poor, subconsciously if not consciously, as a kind of subject race, to be made efficient not so much for the benefit of themselves as for that of the dominant classes, is common enough. And there is the highly practical attitude which would deny preference and sentiment and all the finer feelings to those in want, which, looking upon them as defective machines, tots up the nitrogen and hydrocarbons in their food, regardless of the fact that good digestion waits on appetite, and measures their house comfort in cubic feet by the amount of air-space in their rooms—an attitude combated by Miss Loane when she explains that a disused front parlour affords to many a woman of the better-to-do lower classes scope for a beneficial house pride which otherwise she could not indulge. Finally, there is the unpractical, sentimental attitude, the gullibilities of which have been sufficiently exposed. The Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law reflect two separate attitudes towards the poor, rather than set forth two contrary methods of dealing with poverty and destitution. I trust I am not unjust to the great labours of the Commission in saying that both Majority and Minority treat the poor too much as inferiors; the Majority's proposed poor law reminds me of a home for children where, though there is sometimes scarcely enough to eat, a lump or two of sugar can usually be sneaked for the stomach's delight; whereas that of the Minority reminds me oftener of a barrack where there is always a sufficiency of plain, nourishing food, not over tasty, but never a lump of sugar can be stolen because everything is under lock and key, and is weighed out. The essential difference between these two homes would be in the attitude towards the children, not in the management of the sugar-bags. The Minority's proposals, admirable though some of them are, and highly systematised, waken in me the same sort of

horror as a huge piece of machinery which, should one have the misfortune to tumble into it, will go on grinding and will crush one's vitals out. 'Must my friends,' I ask myself, 'because they are poor and sometimes hungry, must I myself, if I come to grief, be shot into that appalling turnip-slicer, for commerce and an army of officials and specialists to feed upon, as a condition of getting something to eat? They might, as they say, be able to do away with extreme poverty—thank God, if they would do away with the workhouses!—but there are worse things than poverty. What can they think of the poor to erect such a system of industrial conscription, with "the likes o' they" to run it, of course?' And nearly everything does depend on what they think of the poor. As a personal experience to the point, I find that though my 'gentleman and lady' acquaintances like to meet my working-class friends, and accept invitations to tea and so forth with pleasure to everybody concerned, they nearly always end by solemnly advising me (for my own benefit) to quit the fisherman's house where I have found a home and all that home means, and to go adrift once more among 'people of my own position.' What, when cornered, they do not succeed in showing is, that it would be beneficial. And did I live among the poor as a clergyman, or teacher, or political worker, as 'something superior and improving,' not simply as one of themselves, glad to share, so far as may be, their life and work, to help and be helped, then no objection would be made. There is much kindness in the attitude of these advisers, together with a deep-seated misunderstanding, and in consequence a subtle, ineradicable, hardly conscious contempt. And on the other side, a bitterness—the bitterer for want of expression—takes possession of the poor man's mind when he is made to feel, without being able to distinguish or explain, a confusion of such attitudes hemming him in round about, each containing some good and more good intentions, coupled with a contempt mostly unspoken but none the less perceptible; each attitude more articulate nowadays than he is himself. 'The likes o' they,' he says in his more charitable moments, 'bain't no better 'n we be, after the rate; only they got the pull over 'ee, and they hangs on to it; that's where 'tis.'

Meanwhile, what is the attitude of the poor towards
Vol. 212.—No. 422.

M

themselves and towards the life which, after all, they and they only have to live? That is the unknown, but surely not the least important factor. And, again, who are the poor,* what are they, how are they to be distinguished from the not-poor? The answer to this second question carries with it some answer to the first, besides pointing the way to such general guiding principles of action, and maybe of reform, as one dares to lay down.

It is plain that income will not differentiate the poor man from other men, nor even the want of capital. Payment by the week, with its well-marked effect on household arrangements, goes farther. The manual labourer is himself his own stock-in-trade; but so are the lawyer, the politician, the doctor, the author. Formal education, in the ordinary sense of the word, does not supply a definition, though it is customary to speak of the poor as 'the uneducated.' Many members of the middle and upper classes are too badly educated for any sort of work, whilst very many poor people are splendidly educated in subjects which seldom figure in school curricula, such as horse-management, farming, fishing, machinery, traffic, making a little go a long way. 'Culture, as a reality,' says Miss Loane, 'exists far more generally than novelists and newspaper writers would have us believe, although evidence of it may not be apparent at the first glance.' Among the Middlesbrough ironworker families Lady Bell found every gradation, from Greek and French scholars to the man who read books only on religious 'dis-beliefs'; from the nice old woman who wanted to learn to read 'something with a little love and a little murder' to the sensible people who said they had something better to do. Nor will speech and manners serve the purposes of definition. Men cannot be classified according to the number of times they say 'damn' and 'bloody' in an hour; dialect is a beautifully flexible means of communication between those who speak it. Etiquette, though different, is just as strict among the poor as

* I regret using so often the words 'poor' and 'poor man,' because they have associated with them a certain sense of patronage. It is very difficult to find any terms, with the same primary meaning, which have not. And if new terms are invented, they soon gain it. Therefore I can only beg the reader to believe that in using those terms, I want to convey no impression of patronage whatever. Rather the reverse, indeed.

among other classes; their true politeness frequently a thing to marvel at. 'If,' says Miss Loane again, 'we inquired closely into the complaints of modern deterioration of manners in the lower classes, we should find that the real sting does not lie in actual rudeness, but in the shock of receiving courtesy when respect was demanded.'

There is, in fact, no clear and inclusive definition of 'the poor.' The best that can be done is to cut, as far as possible, a middle line through the various classes, find types, and compare them. Obviously it is a difficult task, not to be done without that intimate experience which will be denied to those who undertake it in the spirit of a task; and it is here that the value appears of these books which treat the poor above all as human beings.

In moving from the one *milieu* to the other and back again, the change one specially notes is of tradition and atmosphere; almost the only readjustment that has to be made in oneself, is mental. (Not that one's wits have to be polished up on entering the society of educated people; mentally their pace always strikes me as rather slow and restful; they have invented so many certainties to repose upon, and in their conversation the great disturbing problems of human existence are tacitly ruled out.) Likewise, in reading these books, the critical differences which emerge, between the poor and not-poor, are of spirit, outlook, morals, sensibility and sentiment, methods of thought—all that we commonly include under the one term mentality. There the distinction is so striking that it cannot be waived as a mere difference in degree; and Mr Masterman is led to declare:

'Most present-day failures in legislation and social experiment are due to neglect of this fact. It has been assumed that the artisan is but a stunted and distorted specimen of the small tradesman; with the same ideals, the same aspirations, the same limitations: demanding the same moulding towards the fashioning of a completed product. We are gradually learning that "the people of England" are as different from, and as unknown to, the classes that investigate, observe, and record, as the people of China and Peru.'

Throughout Miss Loane's works constant reference is made to the endurance, generosity, and forgivingness of the poor, as well as to their failings both apparent and

real. Her conclusions may perhaps be fairly summarised in three quotations, the first from 'The Next Street but One,' the second from 'Characteristics of the Poor' in 'From their Point of View,' and the third from a chapter in 'An Englishman's Castle,' for which she has invented a speaker whom she humorously calls 'The Fatigued Philanthropist':

'The more one sees of the poor in their own homes, the more one becomes convinced that their ethical views, taken as a whole, can be more justly described as different from those of the upper classes than as better or worse.

'When one begins to know the poor intimately, visiting the same houses time after time, and throughout periods as long as eight or ten years, one becomes gradually convinced that in the real essentials of morality they are, as a whole, far more advanced than is generally believed, but they range the list of human virtues in a different order from that commonly adopted by the more educated classes. Generosity ranks far before justice, sympathy before truth, love before chastity, a pliant and obliging disposition before a rigidly honest one. In brief, the less admixture of intellect required for the practice of any virtue, the higher it stands in popular estimation.'

'Then we are so anxious about the morals of the poor. We especially find fault with them for want of truth, and do not seem in the least aware that they constantly accuse us of wilful and interested lying. . . . Would it not be fairer to say that rich and poor, men and women, vary chiefly in their ideas as to when it is excusable, justifiable, or even compulsory to deceive. . . . The poor often tell what seem to the rich wholly gratuitous lies, but they will tell the truth on occasions when the rich would lie unblushingly. The poor are generally honest, though rarely honourable, and neither honour nor honesty are as common among the upper classes as we like to believe. Listen to candidates for an examination. . . . The examiner is an enemy, and if he can be deluded, there is no harm in deluding him, and this state of mind is

* To this Mr Masterman adds: 'It is the emotional, indeed, against the intellectual: to one point of view, life in an incomplete condition of development; to another, life lived nearer to its central heart. Certainly, in the combination of Christian and ethical dicta which make up the popular moral code of modern civilisation, the standard of the poor is nearer to the Christian standard.' Herbert Spencer's opinion to the effect that, as a foundation for morality, the emotions are superior to the intellect, is also to the point.

often fostered by otherwise conscientious teachers. If physical examination of the candidates is demanded, there are no bounds to what they consider permissible deception. . . . Again, is it the poor who travel with a time-expired season ticket, or in a higher class than they have paid for? What is the average morality of the well-to-do with regard to the treatment of hired furniture, horses, bicycles, etc.? Why this perpetual assumption that we know so much better than the poor, and on every conceivable point?

Mr George Bourne, in two books which are so beautiful so simply true, and so heartfelt that it would seem an irreverence to slap them on the back with laudatory literary epithets, continually finds cause to marvel at 'the rich reserves of English fortitude in our peasantry,' 'the unconquerable good temper,' the kindliness, 'the centuries of incalculable struggle and valiant endurance.'

'And now, having realised that the circumstances are exceptional, it is becoming increasingly plain to me that Bettesworth is as other men, or—what is more to the purpose—there are thousands of other men who are as Bettesworth is. He is a type of his class. . . . And so, when I hearken to Bettesworth, I feel that it is not to an exceptional man, and still less to an oddity that I am listening; but that in his quiet voice I am privileged to hear the natural, fluent, unconscious talk, as it goes on over the face of the country, of the English race, rugged, unresting, irresistible. The Race, not the aggregate of individuals but the Stirp or Stock that puts forth Bettesworths by the million, and rejoices in its English soil and loves the hard knocks of adventure and necessity everywhere. The native orderliness, the self-reliance, the indomitable vigour of our English breed unimpaired as yet by culture, this is what Bettesworth's talk means to me.'

With a delicacy of perception that is denied to Miss Loane's robust and humorous common-sense, her practical hail-fellow charity, he delves into old Bettesworth's talk to find the mind-quality which underlies and supports those other moral qualities. Somewhat long quotations are necessary to figure a type of mind so living yet so remote from the accepted standards of to-day.

'Of course, looked at from the ordinary educated standpoint, the old man must be an unsatisfactory spectacle, very irritating to those who would improve him, for truly his ignorance of book-learning is profound. . . . Although he may

have some qualified respect for the people who would instruct him in this sort of thing, he betrays not the slightest desire to resemble them. On the other hand, for people whose worth is independent of culture and refinement of manner he has a generous appreciation. Of several wealthy farmers he speaks in tones of warmest approval, perhaps because they are alive to his own value, unrecognised by the preaching colonel and the refined classes. But his admiration is only whole-hearted for men of his own class who are really effectual. . . . Still, there is no doubt that Bettsworth regrets his lack of education. . . . But on the whole, it is probable that he knows all he need know about books. They could teach him nothing of much value to him, for the things he still hungers to learn are of another sort, and are to be acquired in another way.'

'The receptivity of the man's brain was what struck me. One pictured it pinked and patterned over with thousands of unsorted facts—legions of them jostling one another without apparent arrangement. Yet all were available to him; at will he could summon any one of them into his consciousness. A modern man would have had to stop and sift and compare them, and build theories and systems out of all that wealth of material. Not being modern, Bettsworth did not theorise; his thoughts were like the dust-atoms seen in a sunbeam. But though he did not "think," still a vast common-sense somehow or other flourished in him, and these manifold facts were its food.'

'From such deep sources of physical sanity his optimism welled up, that he really needed, or at any rate craved for, no spiritual consolation. Like his remote ancestors who first invaded this island, he had the habit of taking things as they came, and of enjoying them greatly on the whole.'

'Again, lest it be urged that even Bettsworth's enjoyment is tragical in its ignorance of æsthetic pleasures, old Bettsworth, who "*do* like to see things growin'," who stands up to exclaim to the sun piercing the winter haze, "That's right! The sunshine's what we wants!" or who in a March gale asks enthusiastically, "En't it nice to lay in bed and hear the wind roar?"—this old Bettsworth and his kind are not without poetry because they lack verse. Out of their wind-blown, sun-burned toil, they suck a profit more than we who live within doors may understand. It seems to me, too, that there is some profit for Bettsworth—an enviable profit—in the mere fact of living a brave life.'

The second of the above extracts gives the clue to that vast difference in mentality, in method of thought, which

underlies the more evident differences between the poor and the articulate classes—a difference much on a par with the loss that any impression sustains as soon as it comes to be written down. In one of her books Miss Loane complains of the illogicality of the poor; she remarks on the undue importance they attach to the actual handling of the coin in money matters. It is quite true. I have found it impossible really to convince children old enough to go out to work that if we have half a dozen mackerel left over and sell them for a silver sixpence, and their mother has in consequence to buy seven or eight penny-worth of fish for our supper, we are less well off than if we had kept the mackerel themselves for supper and had gone without the sixpence. On the other hand, they are to a certain extent right, for seeing is still believing, and the tangible, visible money is decidedly, if irrationally, more encouraging than a profit and loss account, when the work to be faced may mean lying in an open boat all night, or hooking mackerel in the chill of the day before breakfast, with an occasional bucketful of water skatting inboard over one's head. The poor are not logical; they neither make any great use of, nor are at home in, logical processes of thought; but in compensation they have an astonishing faculty of allowing for that penumbra of hazy or apparently unrelated facts, thoughts, and minor impressions which, in life and in the human consciousness, always surround and modify every fact, thought, and major impression. Theirs is the impressionistic method. Instead of trying to proceed from hypothetical premisses to logical conclusions, they feel rather than reason their way from a mass of perceptions too large and mixed for logic to conclusions which are hypothetical in the sense that they cannot be logically proved, but which, probably, are equally sound in their bearing on real life. The educated man attempts to reason a matter out; the poor man—in his own phrase—to *weigh it up*.*

* It is noticeable that of late philosophy has tended to sanction the weighing-up, as opposed to the logical method of dealing with existence. Mr H. G. Wells, in his most interesting book, 'First and Last Things,' in which he declares his adherence to Pragmatism, puts the point very neatly: 'It is true you can make your net of logical interpretation finer and finer, you can fine your classification more and more—up to a certain limit. But essentially you are working in limits, and as you come closer, as you look

As an actual instance of the two methods of dealing with a subject: my skipper and myself have lately been experimenting with a small otter-trawl, the use of which we have had to learn for ourselves.* One question was, whether we ought to tow it with or against the tide. I attempted to tackle the subject on scientific lines; that is to say, I tried to take first of all the effect on it of one set of conditions, and one only—those which determine the spread of the net, the distance between the otters. Suppose, I said, the wind is dead abeam, capable of sailing the boat four miles an hour, and the tide is two miles an hour. Then, with the tide, the boat will travel six miles an hour, and against it two. But the spread of the net depends on the speed the otters travel through the water, which itself is moving after or against the boat. And in both cases the otters travel four miles an hour *through the water itself*. Therefore the spread of the net ought to be the same with or against the tide. 'Aye,' said my skipper, 'but thee hasn't 'lloed for the surface currents, n'eet for the lop, an' thee's got to get thy wind dead abeam both ways no matter how thee's want to drag across the ground. An' the tide'll be slacking up or making all the time, an' the wind won't stay the same, an' there's lots of other things you got to take into count so soon as you begins to weigh it all up. I bain't going to hae thic. What you'm supposing, don't never happen, not all to once!' In other words, accurate and complete premisses are not ascertainable. My logical method, it will be admitted, would prove excellent for purely imaginary and controllable conditions, but for the many and complicated conditions of real trawling it is next to useless, convenient as a check on

at finer and subtler things, as you leave the practical purpose for which the method exists, the element of error increases. Every species is vague, every term goes cloudy at its edges; and so in my way of thinking, relentless logic is only another name for a stupidity—for a sort of intellectual pigheadedness.' It is obvious, too, how the weighing-up method exposes the poor man to the political propaganda (so piquantly analysed in Mr Graham Wallas's 'Human Nature in Politics') which is based on, 'When I shriek a thing forty times, it's true'—and would expose him still more but for his notorious suspiciousness.

* An otter-trawl is a bag-shaped net for dragging along the bottom. The mouth of it is kept open not by a beam but by two upright wooden wings, or otters, one on either side, which travel obliquely against the water, and in so doing spread farther from each other the faster the trawl is towed.

the other method, and no more. When my skipper has weighed the matter up—though he will not, I am sure, be able to tell me afterwards precisely what factors he has weighed up—there is little doubt that his conclusions will give us the better guidance. And otter-trawling is so very simple compared with human affairs.

The weighing-up method has its own defects, of course, which may at times lead to the gravest errors, but enough has been said, probably, to show that the poor have their own typical mental and moral characteristics, not necessarily inferior to, nor in the larger view less valuable than, those of other classes; that their mental and moral state is not merely one of incomplete and poverty-stricken development.

An objection certain to be made is this: 'All these generalisations may be true of country folk, but what about the dwellers in our terrible industrial towns?' When, the year before last, the present writer published a book chiefly on fishermen, in which he endeavoured to sum up the typical characteristics of the poor by saying that they have not only 'the will to live,' but, in a greater degree than any other class, 'the courage to live,' many such objections were made. 'It is doubtful, indeed,' said one critic, 'whether it is not just this element of the sea, with its spiritual call for adventure, pluck, resource, and hardihood that makes the author so optimistic, and thus colours some of his conclusions about the poor man's life,' 'He probably,' said another critic, 'would find far less manifestation of it in the difficult darkness of the cities, where fear rather than courage is the driving force of common humanity.' Call the instinct of self-preservation fear, and fear will at once be found in plenty among the poor everywhere; but to do so is to imitate the little girl mentioned by Miss Loane, who was brought to book for killing a chicken, and protested, 'I didn't kill it, I didn't! I laid a stick on to it and it died.' These books, which treat the poor as human beings, lend no support whatever to the supposition that only fishermen, among poor men, possess 'the courage to live,' and that it is replaced by fear in the cities, although in the case of fishermen it may well be more apparent and picturesque. Mr Bourne speaks of Bettsworth in his prime as living a 'varied life, careless, confident, and strong'; and repeatedly of the

courage with which he faced old age, burdened with an epileptic, half-crazy wife. Lady Bell brings evidence and to spare of the existence of 'the courage to live' among the ironworkers of Middlesbrough, 'a place in which every sense is violently assailed all day by some manifestation of the making of iron.' Miss Loane, with her vast experience of the poor in town and country, makes no essential distinction between them. Last year an English translation appeared of a book called 'On the Tracks of Life,' in which, among much that is flamboyant and merely acute by flashes, the author, Dr Leo G. Sera, says:

'There is a magnanimity about the plebeians in making a continual sacrifice of their persons and often of their own lives with a stoicism which, if it be sometimes unknown to themselves, is at other times really superior disdain. With few or no attachments to life, they often show themselves indifferent to it, and, both in their disputes and in the risks they run, they exhibit a courage and indifference to death which are found only in brave men.

'By the complete yielding up of themselves which they are always doing, and by the dissipation of their own lives, the plebeians bear some resemblance to the aristocratic type, and this latter type has much more in common with the former than with the middle-class type.'*

That view of the situation is especially interesting and to the point, because Dr Sera is an Italian, and such an opinion from a foreigner supports the contention of those who find national distinctions less dividing than the gulf which separates different classes belonging to the same race and nation.

It is impossible here to survey the whole of the political ground by the light of these generalisations on the life of the poor. To look facts in the face is to recognise that government is not yet democratic; that the poor do not in practice initiate or in any great degree control the social legislation by which they benefit or suffer; and that the query, 'How shall we, the articulate legislating classes, deal with the poor?' still represents actuality. The last Licensing Bill, for example, was

* i.e., aristocratic in the Nietzschean sense; possessing an abundance of the 'will to power,' in accordance with Nietzsche's definition: 'Feeble will is oscillation and the loss of equilibrium; strong will is the orientation of instincts.'

supposed to have been demanded by popular mandate. It divided itself into two parts, that dealing with 'the Trade' and that dealing with so-called temperance reform. It struck me as significant at the time that, in moving about a great deal among 'the masses,' I never heard from them a good word for the brewers, and scarcely a good word for the Bill as a whole; the latter because the temperance reform sections were, I think, felt to be a slur upon the working classes and an attempted infringement of their personal liberty. And almost, if not quite, alone among newspapers 'The New Age' noticed that whilst the Lords would not hear of the proposals directly affecting the brewers, they were ready to consider those sections which would have interfered with the personal liberty, for good or ill, of the working classes. Commons and Lords were equally unrepresentative. With social legislation in general, doubts continually obtrude themselves as to whether so much interference with the personal lives of the poor is not at least unwarrantable; doubts like those to which Miss Loane's experience gives rise:

'For many generations an innumerable multitude of charitable people have been deeply concerned in helping the poor: they have attacked the problems relating to them from the religious, the moral, the sentimental, the intellectual, the "practical" standpoints. All alike have failed almost completely either in reducing the number of the abjectly wretched, or of effecting any lasting improvement in their condition. And why? Chiefly, I believe, because they have one and all despised the home life of the poor, held it cheaply, as a thing of no moment.'

Is not, one asks, so much interference with that home life likely to engender a resentment, a deeper estrangement between the classes, dangerous for the welfare of all? Furthermore, the question demands answer: Is it not imprudent and inexpedient for the whole community, as well as for the poor, to handle their lives so lightly, with less than half-knowledge, and to risk the loss of those typical and valuable qualities which they have acquired gradually, or retained obstinately, through lengthy adaptation to their own conditions of life and by unending efforts to live up to their own standards? Is it good to force other conditions upon their standards,

other standards upon the conditions they have to live under? Would they not go on developing better, and above all more soundly, upon their own lines, if they were given the chance?

We need, in dealing with the poor, 'to act sincerely in the presence of our ideas'; not to hold large ideas and act upon small ones; not to respect the poor in literature and treat them as silly children, who cannot be expected to know what is good for them, when we come to legislation. One of the principal characters in Mr Joseph Conrad's 'Nigger of the "Narcissus"' is an old seaman who has spent his life in ships' forecastles with no promotion, no material success, and scarcely a month ashore. During a gale his blind endurance at the wheel saves the ship. It is, we are made to feel, the culmination of his life and the beginning of his end. Judged by the standards in use, his life would appear a thing most ineffectual, his death of no note. It is one of the triumphs of a wonderful book that we see the old man in his true relation to the sea, to human existence, to what are called the eternal verities; a good sea-labourer, and as such a heroic figure; a life commonplace enough, but a life well to have lived. The great wise men, the heroic figures of the Bible and of literature, to whom homage is rendered, would they not now be dubbed ignorant, and be treated as so much material for social reformers to work upon? Their wisdom would be dealt with as beside the point, irrelevant. Their want of schooling would be thrown in their faces, as it is thrown in the faces of the poor. I witness almost every day educated people listening to old fishermen for their experience and quaintly expressed wisdom and knowledge of life, who, if it were suggested that the old fishermen's talk should be acted upon, would as good as call them old fools. Indeed, so strong is habit, that I do it myself, who ought to know better, after listening to them so much and watching their lives. Some grasp of the anomaly is implied, I imagine, in the insistence of the poor on 'seeing life' as a part of education, and their tolerance of the falls which 'seeing life' very frequently brings in its train. Mr Masterman's praise of 'that zest and sparkle and inner glow of accepted adventure which alone would seem to give human life significance'; Miss Loane's

assertion that, 'broadly speaking, the people who become and remain rich are those who accept all the responsibilities that life brings them, and even seek for more'; those ideas in books meet with very ready approval. But how are they acted upon? The life of the poor is one long and rather grim adventure; their responsibilities, compared with their means of sustaining them, are almost overwhelming. Many of them complain bitterly that 'the likes o' us toils and slaves an' never gets no for'arder'; far fewer regret the adventurousness of their lives or shy at their responsibilities. At times they seem hardly to be aware of either. Yet—as with Miss Loane's help we see more plainly than before—the social reformer singles out for attack on all sides just those two great factors in the poor man's moral training. Among the poor I have heard more echoes of ancient wisdom than ever elsewhere, and have seen it oftener acted upon; but those, notwithstanding, are the people over whom, because they are ignorant of finance, science, and other of life's superficialities, the social reformer is anxious to play schoolmaster in all things. They are judged exclusively by the more apparent sorts of material success. In science, even, materialism has had its day. Why retain it in dealing with the poor?

Free and compulsory education exists for better or for worse; it has to be accepted, together with the profound influence it must necessarily exercise. In some ways it is undervalued by the poor; in other ways absurdly overvalued. If they were only educated, they are apt to think, everything, including a rapid rise in life, would be easy and plain before them. The excess of the stonemason's pride ('Reminiscences of a Stonemason') in his self-educational attainments over his pride in a hard-working, well-spent, and effective life, is almost pathetic. Usually, in conversation, the poor who have become newspaper readers recall their own valuable and interesting experiences and any stale nonsense they may have picked out of a cheap newspaper with equal satisfaction and a singular lack of discrimination. They have heard so much about education and reading as panaceas that, against their better sense as at other times expressed, they more than half believe it. The education given in our primary schools has been much criticised for

its failure to teach useful, as opposed to examinational knowledge; for the habits of inattention, thoughtlessness and slipshod workmanship which many children seem to gain at school; and for the false social ideals with which they are there infected. It is a phase, we are told. Whenever I have asked working men the plain question, 'What education d'you think the kids ought to have then?' the answer has always been the old-fashioned one, 'They ought to learn 'em to read and write and reckon *well*, which they don't do, and to speak up for themselves, so that them as can chatter shan't browbeat 'em down. After that they can go for'ard, if they'm minded, and they bain't spoiled for staying where they be.' That particular form of reply I have heard in Devonshire; but almost the same words come from Bettesworth, in Surrey—'readin,' and writin,' and summin', and to know how to right yourself.' The opinion of those who have brought the children into the world, and worked to bring them up, is not to be despised. The well-to-do have a large amount of voice in what their children shall be taught and the age at which they shall leave school. Working-class parents have practically none. Those who will have the responsibility of putting their children out to work might well be consulted as to the same children's education. They know better than teachers the life their children will probably have to lead; and they recognise better than educationists that to know how to work, to have the habit of working cheerfully and well, is more important than knowledge. As Miss Loane's 'Fatigued Philanthropist' very pointedly remarks, 'After all, do they not bring up a thousand times as many as the rich, and make far less fuss over the matter? The supposition that they are indifferent to their children, and expect them to look after themselves at an early age, is ludicrously inaccurate.'

There is, however, another criticism to be made from a somewhat wider base. If that view, already mentioned, of a nation as an organised community be carried further, it becomes evident that, so long as there are different sorts of work to be done, different types of mind will be required to do it well. What, then, does our educational system do to produce, or at least to encourage and develope, when found, different types of mind? Nothing

at all, so far as the poor are concerned, except to promise technical education for those already well enough off to take advantage of it. The aim apparently is to produce varying approximations to the clerk or teacher or minor professional man; to foster only one type of mind, that which responds readily to the cut-and-dried curriculum in vogue. Miss Loane refers to the 'peculiarly distressing case of defectives, so little noted by statisticians, and so sadly familiar to small employers of labour—persons capable of acquiring literary education, and in some cases specially excelling in arithmetic, but unable to apply themselves to even the simplest forms of manual labour.' And there is the opposite class of defectives—those who can labour but cannot learn in school. The former type is encouraged to its own disaster; the latter is labelled dunce, and is kept idling on at the tail of the class till the legal age of leaving, by which time the habit of idleness is confirmed. Under an educational system capable of recognising and fostering different types of mind, neither extreme need be stigmatised as defective, each might be made useful in its own way. Miss Loane, in one place, favours a long education, because the children thereafter work more intelligently. But she takes care to say in another place that, almost without exception, the best husbands and fathers to be found among the poor have been men whose mothers 'learned 'em to work, and seed they did their fair share.' (Mothers, be it noted, not teachers.) The apparent contradiction is nothing else than an argument in favour of different types of education and different leaving-ages according to the probable nature of the work in store. That working-class parents wish their children to leave school early in order that they may make money out of infant labour, is in nine cases out of ten a fiction. They know that, for children with a lifetime's labour before them, 'getting at it gradual and early' is preferable to being brought to it suddenly and painfully, if at all, later on. (One notices among the poor that loafers are usually better spoken and better learnt than hard-working men.) There are some sorts of work which must be 'got at' early. Fishermen, for instance, hold firmly that a man must have been not only trained but *bred* to their trade. The finished product of the schoolroom and playground

cannot be expected to take to fishing, with its exposure and call for endurance, its periods of trying idleness and of work severe beyond the powers of the average man. 'They an't got the heart, they an't got the guts,' fishermen say. In the fishery I know best there is not now a single youth coming on, though there is still a decent living to be got out of the sea. When they leave school they want 'softer jobs,' or none. Education must bear its share of the blame. The Poor-Law Commissioners reported in favour of a change of curriculum in the schools. With deference, one would go further and say that, until different types of mind are fully recognised and developed, not by different degrees of the same type of education, but by different types of education, extending not to one leaving-age but to suitable leaving-ages, the human resources of the nation cannot be properly organised.

'Countless pages' (concludes the stonemason in his *Reminiscences*) 'have been written about poverty, but the sentence in the old book, "The destruction of the poor is their poverty," contains the pith of the matter.' A noteworthy by-product of the Tariff Reform and Budget controversies has been the free admission, by both the great political parties, that the poor do not receive economic justice. Social reform and economic reform have been much confused; they stand confused in the public mind, except in so far as economic reform suggests robbing the rich, whilst social reform suggests, very unaccountably, mending the manners and customs of the poor only; and, of course, economic and social reform do merge into and react upon one another. It may indeed be that they appear much the same thing from the point of view of those who want to 'raise' and otherwise modify by legal force the personal lives of the poor, but from the standpoint of the poor themselves they are quiet distinct; and the right and reason of the State to interfere is far from the same in both cases. Perhaps the difference may be put thus: a man's economic relations depend closely on the State, and the State should be a sleeping partner with one eye open, ready at all times to ensure not only shilling honesty between parties, but general honesty; whereas a man's social relations and personal conduct are primarily his own affair, and the State should be a partner sound

asleep unless violently awakened. For the State, though capable, theoretically at all events, of judging a man's economic transactions and position, is not capable of judging a man's life and self, and ought not to make a pretence of doing so except when crime, for example, forces its hand. Distinguished thus, economic and social reform appear very different in nature and effect. The first is warrantable and necessary; the second is not, and in practice usually does more harm than good. To the poor, economic reform means a measure of justice between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'; but social reform means 'police,' whether they are really required or not. It involves, too, that which Mr John Burns so well protested against when he said in the House of Commons that, being by nature a kindly man, he was averse from the creation of new crimes.

Granted the above distinction between economic and social reform, most of the provisions of the Factory Acts, Food Adulteration Acts and improved housing come under the economic category. The extreme importance of better housing is acknowledged. Miss Loane, whose opportunities of forming an opinion on the matter have been 'almost unique, declares that 'the housing of the poor is disgracefully bad, and often the matter is beyond their individual control.' 'Moreover, the poor are seldom or never in a position to put any pressure upon their landlords, and dare not make open complaints of the condition of their houses.' But it needs to live day by day in a working-man's house, even a comparatively good one, to realise how his life is hampered in every direction by the fact that he does not, and cannot, obtain value for his rent-money. On the other hand, if Mr Pett Ridge, an open-minded and close observer, is to be believed, temperance reform, that typical example of the social reformer's work, has achieved very little except the harassing of one class.

'Reforms which have so far come in the drink habits of the people cannot be claimed by Parliament. . . . I wish the results of an Act were always as good as its intentions. It is certain that when the Houses of Parliament decided no child under fourteen should be served in a public-house unless as a messenger conveying a sealed bottle, they honestly believed they were doing the wise, judicious thing. The actual

consequences, so far as my observation goes, have been that, whereas in former days the youngster was dispatched with a jug and brought it back filled (taking slight toll on the way, more as a declaration of independence than from any appetite for the beverage), now the mother or father has to take the jug, and being inside the cheerful public-house, feels that courtesy demands a drink should be ordered for consumption on the premises. If acquaintances are met there, the silly procedure of treating is perhaps started.'

My own experience entirely bears out Mr Pett Ridge's. If Sunday closing comes into force we shall no doubt buy on Saturday nights a bottle of spirits, or get in half a dozen bottles of beer, and on Sundays we shall, I dare say, finish the lot in an aimless festivity, instead of discussing the news of the day over a couple of glasses of beer in a public-house. The Children Act, which forbade the public-house to children, has proved, in that respect a kindness to everybody but the children. If those journalists who belauded the Children Act, under the name of 'The Children's Charter,' could have realised how much undeserved insult to the poor was contained in their laudations, and how much resentment arose therefrom, they would have moderated their appeal to the shallower sentimentalism of their readers. Cigarettes have now an additional attraction to boys of any spirit. When they can smoke openly, they will smoke, as the saying goes, like furnaces. To make such laws is to render the law a farce.

Social reform on the part of the legislating classes is, in effect, an attempt to modify lives hardly known, with results that cannot be foretold. No statistics or inspections can grasp those imponderables of life, which alone count in the end. Miss Loane's books, and in a lesser degree the others, form one long protest against neglect of the imponderables in poor people's lives. It is observable that social reformers are demanding more and more inspection, a system the inherent defects of which are greater than its qualities. It is resented as an impertinence by the poor; it ignores the imponderables; it judges the lives of one class by the standards of another; and long before it attains efficiency, even within its own narrow limits, the cost has become prohibitive. Social reform based on such a system cannot but be misguided.

It has been said that the cardinal difference between the lot of rich and poor is, that the former have more margin in which to remedy mistakes. It is exactly that inequality, that proportional difference of margin, which economic reform can remedy. It would give to the poor the opportunity of progressing in the only sound manner, by their own efforts and on their own lines. They have their ideals as much as any other classes, but not at present the same means of attaining them.

It will be noticed that the broad principles here advocated (not very systematic principles perhaps—how can they be in such a chaos?) are more akin to what has been called the Old Tory attitude than to most attitudes. They tend, in fact—if it is not stretching terms too far—towards a New Toryism or Nationalism, a Nationalism founded on respect for the poor; less bent on 'raising them out of their station' than on providing them with justice in that station, and the chance of bettering themselves whenever by their own efforts they can do it; sufficiently sensible of human brotherhood in the elemental things of life not to be under the illusion that equality necessitates sameness; prepared to honour the poor for what they are, where they are; confident that there are many different lines of development, and therefore tolerant of other class customs and class aims; and conscious always that, as the poor so often say, it takes all sorts to make a world—or a well organised nation.

That, it must be confessed, is an ideal perhaps high-flown. Without imputing its imperfections to the poor, I put it forward less as my own than as what they themselves have taught me. There was, and still lives, a social reformer who at last despaired and said, 'It's no good; I go on because I've started; but what we want in order to set things right is a new religion, and only that can do it.' A new spirit in dealing with the poor is indeed wanted; a spirit of understanding and of patience, and above all of good-fellowship. From that the rest, or at all events a good deal of it, would follow, and the problem would begin to be solved the right end foremost.

STEPHEN REYNOLDS.

Art. 8.—DEMOCRACY IN SWITZERLAND.

1. *Les Constitutions Fédérales de la Confédération Suisse.* Par C. Hilty, Docteur en Droit, Professeur à l'Université de Berne. Neuchâtel, 1891.
 2. *De la Liberté Politique dans l'État Moderne.* Par Arthur Desjardins. Paris, 1894.
 3. *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe.* By A. Lawrence Lowell. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1896.
 4. *The Swiss Confederation.* By Sir Francis Ottiwell Adams, K.C.M.G., C.B., and C. D. Cunningham. London: Macmillan, 1889.
 5. *The Swiss Republic.* By Boyd Winchester, late United States Minister at Bern. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1891.
 6. *Government in Switzerland.* By John Martin Vincent, Ph.D., Associate Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. London: Macmillan, 1900.
 7. *Die Schweiz seit 1848.* Von Prof. Dr J. Schollenberger. Berlin, 1908.
 8. *Geschichte der Schweiz.* Von Dr Karl Dändliker. Drei Bänden. Dritte Auflage. Zürich, 1893.
- And other works.

THE late Sir Leslie Stephen has taught us to call Switzerland the 'Playground of Europe.' Only during the last century did it assume this character. The first English guide-book to that country—a very humble precursor of our Murray and our Baedeker—was published in 1818 by Daniel Wall, of London. The work was a sign of the newly awakened interest in the Swiss lakes and mountains, due, probably, to Lord Byron more than to any one else. Now, I suppose, there are few Englishmen or Englishwomen, of even moderate means, who have not visited Switzerland, for longer or shorter periods, who have not fallen under the spell of its happy valleys and sunny vineyard slopes, of its snow-clad mountains and its wild torrents with their 'unceasing thunder and eternal foam,' of its blue lakes set in frames of dazzling verdure, of its cities, so diversely beautiful: Geneva, bright and sparkling as Paris itself, Lausanne, dowered

with perpetual youth, Schaffhausen, where the charm of the Middle Ages still lingers, and imperial Bern, adorned with umbrageous roads, gigantic terraces, noble fountains, and antique walls well-nigh encircled by the swift-flowing Aar. Then there are the Swiss people, simple but shrewd, candid but courteous, homely but hospitable. Are there any of us who have sojourned among them, far away from the scurry and scramble, the tedium and treacheries of London life, with its 'fimum et opes strepitumque,' and have not felt, 'It is good for us to be here?'

But it is not of these things that I am about to write, nor of the debt that not a few of us owe to 'bathing in the salubrious and beneficial mountain air,' to use Rousseau's words, which he prophetically discerned as 'one of the great resources of medical science.' There is another point of view from which this little country—it is half the size of Scotland—has a strong claim upon our consideration. Mr Winchester, who for some years resided in it, as Minister from the United States, has well remarked, 'Switzerland is constantly solving, in her own way, some of the hardest problems of politics.' It will be well to see what certain of those solutions are. Possibly we may learn from them. But before proceeding further, let us glance briefly at the past career of the country, of which its existing institutions are the outcome.

National freedom in Switzerland has its roots in a very far-off past. She has always been democratic since she found place on the map of Europe, and indeed long before. Six hundred and eighteen years ago the three Forest Cantons on the Lake of Luzern entered into the Perpetual Alliance which was the starting-point of the Swiss Confederation. But Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden were democracies for many previous centuries. In fact they had never been anything else. The German tribe—if we may so speak—of the Alemanni, who were the ancestors of the people of those Forest Cantons, brought with them into Switzerland, in the third century, the immemorial liberties of their Teutonic forests, based on freedom, which was not necessarily equality, of person and of vote. The freemen, who had their dependents, and, in course of time, their slaves, were lords to themselves, and in their assemblies discussed and determined all matters of national importance. The officers who

ruled their counties (Gau)* and subdistricts or hundreds (Mark), were apparently chosen by themselves; and so was sometimes their chief who led them to battle (Herzog). The land was, on the whole, regarded as the common heritage of the inhabitants of the district, though, here and there, portions were held in special occupation and tenancy from the community, and, less frequently, portions were recognised as belonging to private owners, subject, however, to public claims. When feudalism arrived, it of course made itself felt in the three Forest Cantons, as elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, of which they formed part, and throughout Europe; but the inborn love of freedom, the old tradition of liberty, survived in spite of it. Proprietorship in the soil assumed a more individual character, and the lordship of counties and hundreds became hereditary in different families. Hence arose complications. Whole districts were granted in fief to abbeys and cloisters, thus receiving the immunities which the Church then enjoyed, and experiencing the milder rule of the monastic officials. Still the popular assemblies never fell into disuse. However contracted their power, they kept alive the forms of freedom into which new life was shortly to be breathed. In the first half of the thirteenth century the three Cantons obtained from Frederick II the boon of immediate attachment to the Holy Roman Empire as imperial fiefs, governed by imperial advocates, thus escaping the possible tyranny of feudal lords. But Rudolph of Habsburg, who in 1273 was elected German King, did not renew to Schwyz and Unterwalden, as he did to Uri, the charters by which this privilege was conferred, wishing, it would seem, to add these States to his own ancestral domain. He died in 1291. Seventeen days after his death, the three Cantons, feeling the need of drawing close together to defend their common interest, entered into the Perpetual League, out of which so much was to come.

These hardy peasants of the mountainous districts bordering the Lake of Luzern were the protagonists in the struggle to free their country from foreign rule. But they were quite unaware of it. Independence of outside domination was not among the objects of the Perpetual

* The name survives in Thurgau and Aargau.

League.* Its first object was the preservation of their old direct connexion with the Empire. But it also provided for the maintenance of their immemorial local rights. Thus the Confederates solemnly agreed that they would not receive any judge who was not a native of their valleys, or who had purchased his office. They further agreed that all disputes among the three Cantons should be settled by arbitration, the decision of the arbitrator being, if necessary, enforced; and that in case of an attack upon any one of the three Cantons, by any Power, the other two Cantons should come to its aid. But all existing feudal claims and the rights of the overlords they respected. It would be impossible here, nor is it necessary for the present purpose, to follow in detail the struggles of the Habsburgs, after the death of Rudolph, to join the Forest Cantons to their hereditary possessions. Swiss chroniclers and historians have attributed the overthrow of Austrian power in their country to the excesses of the bailiffs sent there by Rudolph's son Albert, and the belief has been enshrined by Schiller in his most delightful play. The Swiss are unwilling to give up the story of William Tell, and so am I. But there is no documentary evidence to support it, or indeed to prove the existence of the Austrian bailiffs.

Nearly a quarter of a century passed away before the Confederates ('Eidgenossen' they were termed; comrades bound by an oath) were called upon to defend jointly their common interests. A quarrel between Schwyz and the Abbey of Einsiedeln, of which the Habsburgs were stewards, led to an invasion of the Forest Cantons by the Austrians under Duke Leopold, who was utterly defeated in the memorable battle of Morgarten—the Swiss Thermopylæ it has been called—on the 15th of November 1315. On the 9th of December, in the same year, the Confederates proceeded to Brunnen to renew

-
- * Die alten Rechte, wie wir sie ererbt
 Von unsern Vätern, wollen wir bewahren,
 Nicht ungezügelt nach dem Neuen greifen.
 Dem Kaiser bleibe, was des Kaisers ist.
 Wer einen Herrn hat, dien' ihm pflichtgemäss.

In these lines of 'Wilhelm Tell' Schiller has admirably expressed the ethos of Swiss conservatism. It is not the stupid conservatism of the savage, but the conservatism which (in the words of Burke) knows that 'prescription is a blind form of reason'—and often the best form, we may add.

by oath, and also to enlarge, the Pact of 1291. In the next year the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria declared the three Cantons free from the overlordship of the Dukes of Austria. In 1332 Luzern sought and obtained admission to the Confederation, in 1351 Zürich, in 1352 Glarus and Zug, and in 1353 Bern. This Confederation of eight Cantons received no additions until the year 1481. The second half of the fourteenth century is full of its efforts to defend its liberties against Austria, the most memorable incidents being the battles of Sempach in 1386 and of Näfels in 1388, in both of which the Swiss were victorious. It has been said that what Plataeæ was of old to the Greeks, Sempach was to the Swiss; and the story of the heroic action of Arnold von Winkelried, which is alleged to have determined the victory, lives in Swiss imagination side by side with the story of William Tell. The victory of Näfels—it is still solemnly commemorated every year by the people of Glarus—completed the work of Sempach, and thenceforth the Austrian claims were a vain shadow. But the name of Sempach is glorious in Swiss history, not only for the brilliant feat of arms whereby Swiss liberties were vindicated, but also for the Convention known as the Sempacherbrief. It was at Zürich in the year 1393 that the document was drawn up by the deputies of the eight Confederate States. It prohibited the waging of war unnecessarily; it contained certain stipulations concerning military organisation; it provided for the immunity of churches and convents, and of women, unless they fought themselves or by outcry gave help to the enemy. It derived its name from the fact that the battle of Sempach is several times mentioned in it, as exhibiting examples of the evils against which it was directed. It is notable as the first agreement in which the Confederated States all acted together for a common aim; also for another reason. Dändliker, in his 'History of Switzerland,' observes, with pardonable pride, 'The Confederation which, in the nineteenth century, established the Convention of Geneva for the protection of the wounded, had already in the fourteenth century, for the first time in the world's history, endeavoured to mitigate the barbarities of war.'*

* Vol. i, p. 633.

Another constitutional document of material importance in Swiss history, the date of which is 1370—that is, twenty-three years before the Sempacherbrief—is the Pfaffenbrief, or Priests' Charter. By it all the Confederates, except Bern and Glarus, freed themselves from the jurisdiction of clerical courts in all temporal matters. It also contained provisions for the better keeping of the peace throughout the country; and, as Dändliker claims, 'is remarkable for having introduced the principle of the majority as regards the adoption of new Articles.'

The fifteenth century is often spoken of as the heroic age of Switzerland.* Its greatest triumph of arms was the overthrow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in the three great battles of Granson, Morat, and Nancy—in the last of which conflicts (1477) the Duke was killed. There were indeed disputes and even wars among the Cantons; still, the Confederation steadily advanced in power and prestige. But as that century drew to a close, Switzerland passed through a very critical crisis. Jealousies had sprung up between the democratic Forest States, which were the founders of the League, and the cities, rich, aristocratic, and sometimes unscrupulous. Moreover, there was the question of admitting into the Confederation the Cantons of Freiburg and Solothurn. This the cities desired; but the Forest States, not wishing to increase the municipal influence, were opposed to it. There was great danger of the splitting of the Confederacy into two, when, as a last chance of reconciliation, a Diet was called to meet at Stanz on the 8th of December, 1481. After much ineffectual debating, just as the assembly was about to break up in confusion, a compromise was arranged, through the intervention of the hermit, Nicholas von der Flüe, and was embodied in the document known as the Convention of Stanz. It reaffirms the three older great constitutional instruments, the Perpetual League, the Pfaffenbrief, and the Sempacherbrief; it interdicts new separate alliances among the Cantons; and, as to the division of the spoils of war—one of the points at issue—it provides

* The name of the Canton of Schwyz gradually spread over the whole League—I do not know why; and they came to be called Swiss, and their country Switzerland. It is only, however, in quite late times, that these appellations have come into formal use.

that movable booty should be shared according to the number of fighting men, and that new acquisition of territory should be apportioned among the States participating, thus recognising the principle of State rights, and, in a sort of way, the principle of popular representation also. Moreover, Freiburg and Solothurn were admitted to the Confederacy on equal terms with the other Cantons, as was Appenzell, in 1513.

The thirteen Cantons thus united constituted the Swiss Confederation as it lasted for three centuries. But each Canton, we must remember, was a Sovereign State, its citizens being regarded as foreigners in another Canton. It must be remembered too that the tie which united them was of the loosest kind. There was no central Government, nor was the Diet in any sense a legislature; it was rather a conference of envoys, bound by instruction from the several States, which were, in fact, imperative mandates. 'Connected with the Confederacy there were, for various periods, and in different relationships, other territories and cities more or less under its control. One class consisted of the so-called Allied Districts, which were attached to the central body, not as equal members, but as friends for mutual assistance. . . . More closely attached to the Confederation were the Subject Territories, whose government was administered by various members of the League—territories which had been obtained partly by purchase or forfeiture of loans, and partly by conquest. . . . Upon this territorial basis of States, Subject Lands and Allies, the fabric of Government stood till the close of the eighteenth century.* Switzerland was not as yet a nation. It was in fact a German League, its proper style 'The Old League of Upper Germany'; German in origin, in traditions, in language, and in modes of thought, one of many German Leagues, but the only one which, from various causes, had attained to virtual autonomy. At the end of the fifteenth century its dependence upon the Empire was merely nominal, and the peace of Westphalia (1648) recognised its complete independence. Moreover, the Governments of the various

* 'Government in Switzerland,' by John Martin Vincent, p. 22. I am glad to have an opportunity of calling attention to this admirable little book, which is as clear as it is comprehensive.

States differed vastly. The three primitive Cantons were, from the first, strictly democratic; as were also Glarus, Appenzell, and Zug. In these the citizens in General Assemblies ('Landsgemeinden') decided all important questions. In the territories of the Sovereign Cities there were no General Assemblies, and the burghers ruled without consulting the opinions of the country people. Bern, Luzern, Solothurn, and Freiburg were indeed aristocratic oligarchies.

The Protestant Reformation exercised, as was inevitable, a dissolvent influence on Switzerland. Dissident religious sects became political parties, and the country had a narrow escape from being split into two confederations, one Catholic and the other Protestant. At the close of the Reformation period seven of the Cantons, Luzern, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and Solothurn, remained Catholic; four, Bern, Zürich, Basel, and Schaffhausen, had become Protestant; Appenzell and Glarus recognised both religions. Theological animosities were active during the seventeenth century, and were by no means extinguished in the eighteenth, as was shown by the war which broke out in 1712 between the Protestant Cantons of Bern and Zürich on the one hand, and the five smaller Catholic Cantons on the other.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the political decline of Switzerland, and it has been truly remarked that to this decline the Protestant Reformation largely conduced 'by vesting all power—political, fiscal, moral, and educational—in the hands of the Government in the Protestant Cantons.'* Absolutism, indeed, was in the air, in Switzerland as in the rest of Europe, and the old traditions of freedom lost their influence. The spirit of patriotism was more or less quenched, and foreign military service† depleted the country of its best men. A year after the battle of Marignano (1515) a formal alliance had been concluded between France and the

* 'Switzerland,' by Mrs Lina Hug and Richard Stead, p. 303.

† These mercenary services, which have often been made a reproach to Switzerland, date from the Burgundian war. Sir Francis Adams and Mr Cunningham, in their valuable work, 'The Swiss Confederation,' observe, 'No doubt the reproach was, in a great degree, merited. But the spectacle of some 30,000 Swiss troops mounting guard over Continental thrones was not without its grandeur, and made the name of Switzerland famous in Europe' (p. 9).

Confederation. In the time of Louis XIV French influence was predominant in Switzerland—at all events till the latter years of his reign; and the arbitrary rule of that monarch was regarded as a pattern to be imitated by the Swiss governing classes. The Peasants' Revolt in 1653 was unquestionably due to excessive imposts, harsh administration, and increasing poverty; and although it was suppressed, with much bloodshed and great cruelty, some of the grievances which had led to it were, in the event, more or less effectively redressed.

Matters did not improve in the eighteenth century. Even in the professedly democratic Cantons, popular rights were little respected, as ambitious chieftains and powerful families seized the reins of government and overruled the 'Landsgemeinden.' Most of the other Cantons were more or less completely under the control of aristocracies. In Zürich, Schaffhausen, and Basel, indeed, the guilds kept them in check; in Zürich especially were liberal tendencies manifested. Bern, on the other hand, was the narrowest of oligarchies; as the eighteenth century went on all power fell into hands of less than a hundred noble families. It must, however, be allowed that their government of that State was economical, wise, and just, and that the forty-four bailiwicks of its Subject Territories, though shorn of political rights, enjoyed material prosperity. Johannes von Müller goes so far as to say, 'It were no easy matter to find in the world's history a community which has been so wisely administered, and for so long a time, as this of Bern.' Such was the condition of Switzerland when the French Revolution broke out, and the sciolists and sophists, into whose vile hands France fell, tried to 'make the constitution' for that country on the lines followed in their own. Many Swiss in Paris who, for good or bad reasons, had left their native land, sympathised with the revolutionary movement, and formed themselves into the Helvetic Club—its professed object being the liberation of Switzerland from aristocratic Government—which was formally opened in June 1791, amid the plaudits of the Parisian mob, 'Vivent nos amis les Suisses.' Before long the Swiss discovered the true meaning of Jacobin amity. The French invasion of Switzerland in 1798, undertaken of course in the name of liberty, had for its primary object

the seizure of money and arms. This was effected chiefly under the orders of the Commissary of the French Republic attached to 'the Army of Helvetia,' aptly named Rapinat.* The public treasuries of Bern, Zürich, and Lausanne, and all the charitable funds, were plundered; valuable objects of art were stolen from the churches and public buildings, and contributions, gigantic, if the poverty of the country be considered, were everywhere levied. The Swiss resisted heroically but were outnumbered and slaughtered, and every species of violence was perpetrated. 'All that tyranny the most oppressive, rapine the most insatiate, cruelty the most sanguinary, and lust the most unbridled could inflict,' was experienced by that unhappy people. Trees of liberty were, however, planted for their consolation, and a Constitution of the French pattern was forced upon them—a paper theory to replace their ancient 'Landsgemeinden,' their State and Communal liberties. They turned in horror from these Jacobin abstractions. The Helvetic Republic, 'one and indivisible,' which it was attempted to substitute for the old Confederation, took no root in Switzerland. In this new unitary State the ancient Cantons were reduced to Prefectures, while Sub-prefects ruled in the Districts, and agents in the Communes. The change was absolutely repugnant to the genius of the people, and the history of the country from 1798 to 1803 is a record of social trouble, devastation, massacre, and impoverishment hardly to be paralleled in the world's annals. At last Napoleon, who at all events had eyes, showed a willingness, which he was far from always displaying, to recognise the historical fitness of things and the political aptitudes of a country. His Act of Mediation (Feb. 2, 1803), which, while retaining a central Government, gave back autonomy to the Cantons, and restored the old popular Assembly in seven of them, bestowing upon the rest representative institutions, was followed by a general improvement in the condition of Switzerland. The League now consisted of nineteen Cantons, the additional six—St Gallen, the Grisons,

* The following verses which were current about him seem worth citing :

La Suisse qu'on pille, et qu'on ruine,
Voudrait bien que l'on décidât
Si Rapinat vient de rapine,
Ou rapine de Rapinat

Aargau, Thurgau, Ticino, and Vaud—being formed out of Allied and Subject Territories. For the next eleven years the country was really completely dependent upon France, and was obliged to furnish a contingent of 16,000 men for the French army. The Napoleonic Constitution fell with the fall of its author in 1815,* when the Congress of Vienna addressed itself to the regulation of Swiss affairs and displayed more wisdom in accomplishing the task than it manifested in other of its activities. It added to the existing nineteen Cantons three more; the Valais, a small republic allied to the Confederation from the Middle Ages to 1798; Neuchâtel, subject, up to that date, to the King of Prussia, but bestowed by Napoleon as a principality upon Marshal Berthier; and Geneva, an ancient free city till annexed to France by the Directory.† The perpetual neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland was guaranteed by Austria, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, and Russia, in an Act signed at Paris on November 20, 1815.

In place of the Napoleonic Constitution, a Federal Pact was drawn up by the Swiss Diet in 1815, largely under the influence of Stratford Canning, and was accepted by the Congress of Vienna. By it the Cantons recovered a still larger measure of their old independence, and in some of the more aristocratic of them the privileged classes regained a portion of their former influence. The Federal tie was maintained, but the Diet in which the highest power was vested, and which consisted of ambassadors from the several Cantons, had no power to enforce its own decrees. The country became largely a prey to agitation and discord until 1830, when the fall of the Bourbons in France gave an impetus to a reforming movement. The Cantons began to revise their constitutions; between 1830 and 1847 there were twenty-seven such revisions, and all in a liberal sense. Then religious

* As a matter of fact the Act of Mediation was formally dissolved on December 29, 1813, at a meeting of deputies from the Cantons held in Zürich, and the independence of the Swiss States was declared.

† In Valais, Neuchâtel, and Geneva, and in the Canton of Vaud, admitted to the Confederation in 1803, French is generally spoken, as it is in the greater part of the Canton of Freiburg and in the Bernese Jura. Italian is the language of Ticino and of parts of the Grisons, Romansch being spoken in other parts of that Canton; so that the distinctively German character of the Confederation has disappeared.

troubles added to the confusion and disquiet. They culminated in the separate League known as the *Sonderbund*, which was joined by the four Forest Cantons, as well as by Zug, Freiburg, and, subsequently, Valais. Once again in her history Switzerland was in danger of being split into two confederations, a Catholic and a Protestant. Then came the war of the *Sonderbund*—a question relating to Jesuits was its immediate occasion—in which, after a campaign of twenty-five days, the Federal troops were completely successful, and the Catholic seceders were vanquished.

No sooner was this short civil war over than, in accordance with a general desire, the Diet proceeded to a revision of the Federal Pact; and on September 12, 1848, the organic law on which the Confederation is still based was promulgated, with the assent of all the Cantons. 'The Constitution of 1848,' Sir Francis Adams and Mr Cunningham observe, 'was evidently constructed with a view of satisfying both elements, Cantonal and National. It was essentially a work of compromise, and the central power created by it naturally resulted in a diminution of the authority of Cantons, rendering them less independent individually, whilst they evidently gained in compactness so far as their external relations were concerned.'* In 1874 a proposal for revising the Constitution, in a sense more favourable to Cantonal independence, was adopted by referendum, † 340,199 voting for it and 198,013 against it. The Cantons were two to one in its favour. In this new Constitution a few alterations of no very great importance have since been made. I shall now proceed to give its principal features.

It must never be forgotten that the Swiss Confederation is composed of twenty-two *Sovereign States*‡ united, as the Constitution of 1874 expresses it, 'in order to ensure the independence of the country against foreign nations, to maintain internal tranquillity, to protect the liberty and rights of the Confederated citizens, and to

* p. 21.

† The Referendum and the Initiative—of which more hereafter—are not new things in Switzerland, although their present form is modern. They are the natural fruit of the 'Landsgemeinde'—an adaptation of it to modern conditions.

‡ Three of them are divided into demi-Cantons.

increase the common prosperity.' These Cantons are divided into three thousand Communes. Every Commune is virtually a State in miniature, with an organised Government consisting of a deliberative and an executive body. In some parts of Switzerland the deliberative body, known as the Communal Assembly, is composed of all the resident male citizens. That is so in Uri, Glarus, the two Unterwalds (Obwald and Nidwald), and the two Appenzells; and these are known as the Landsgemeinde Cantons. Elsewhere the growth of the population has rendered it impossible for the people to assemble in a mass meeting; and councils elected by them have been introduced.* But the people do not surrender their powers to these Councils. Once a year, at least, a communal voting by ballot takes place in which the citizens themselves decide all important questions. It is the Commune—not the individual nor the family—which is the unit of Swiss political society. M. Numa Droz, in his 'Institution Civique'—a text-book in the Swiss public schools—says, 'The Commune is almost the State in a small compass, or, to employ an illustration from natural history, it is one of the cells of which the social body is composed. The Communes must have perfect liberty in rivalling one another in their efforts to satisfy and advance the interests they have in charge. Care must be taken not to reduce them to a uniform level, which would stifle all spirit of initiative, every desire for improvement.' It is from them that Swiss citizenship proceeds. Every Swiss citizen must belong to some Commune. He must possess what the French call 'droit de bourgeoisie' and the German 'Bürgerthum,' either by inheritance or by purchase.

The chief executive power in the Cantons of Switzerland is uniformly entrusted to a Committee of officials, popularly elected in little more than half of the States, and chosen by the Legislature in the rest. It is known by various titles, but is generally called the Council of State. The highest officer in the German Cantons is a chairman, frequently designated 'Landamman' or President of the Council of State, but in Luzern, 'Schultheiss.' For

* The notion of being present by representation appears to have sprung up in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

the better administration of internal affairs the Canton is divided into Districts over which are placed officials known as Prefects, or by some equivalent German designation. The District officer is the agent of the central Government in his District and is sometimes assisted by a District Council.

Eighteen of the Cantons have a Legislature consisting of a single chamber, called the Great Council (sometimes the 'Kantonsrath' or 'Landrath'), the members of which are chosen by universal suffrage for periods ranging from two to five years. Its functions are to make laws, vote the taxes and appropriations, and supervise the administration. But the people at large act as a check on the Great Councils, in two ways. By means of the Referendum they can veto a proposed law, and by the Initiative they bring forward imperative legislation which they desire. In case a constitutional amendment is proposed by the Great Council, the Referendum is always compulsory. No constitutional amendment can become law without the popular assent expressly given; and all the Cantons, with one exception, recognise the right of the people to demand, by means of the Initiative, a partial or total revision of the Constitution. In nine and a half Cantons the Referendum is compulsory for every new law.

The Federal Government is made up of a Legislature or Assembly—that is its proper name—an Executive, and a Judiciary.* The Assembly is composed of two Houses, the National Council and the Council of States. The National Council consists of a hundred and forty seven members, elected for a term of three years by universal suffrage. The Council of States consists of forty-four members, of whom each Canton nominates two. It represents in some sort the old Diet. The Cantons, I would again remind my readers, are Sovereign States. But, by the Constitutional Pact, part of their sovereignty is delegated to the Federal Government. Within its province come questions of peace and war, treaties, the army, coinage, the post, the telegraph, the telephones, paper currency, weights and measures, the conservation

* It does not fall within the scope of this article to deal with the Swiss Judiciary. Full information concerning it will be found in Mr A. Lawrence Lowell's valuable work, 'Governments and Parties in Continental Europe.

of forests, rivers, and lakes, the construction of roads and railways, and other matters obviously concerning the common interests of the country. The law-making power of the Federal Assembly is largely safeguarded by the Referendum.* Bills passed by both Houses of the Federal Assembly do not become law at once. They are published immediately after they are passed, and a sufficient number of copies is sent to each Canton, where for ninety days they remain on inspection. If during that period 30,000 citizens, or eight Cantons, petition for a popular vote, the Bill must be so referred. Moreover, if 50,000 citizens, at any time, demand *total* constitutional revision, the question must be referred to the popular vote. Further, in 1891 the so-called 'Popular Initiative' was added to the Federal Constitution, 50,000 citizens being empowered to demand *partial* constitutional revision. The Federal Assembly meets twice a year, in June and December, for about four weeks; and there is usually an extra session in March which is shorter still. Parliamentary eloquence appears to be unknown in it, and the reports of its proceedings in the public prints are very meagre. The two Houses which compose it have equal power, and any proposition on matters within their cognisance may be introduced in either. No instance has been known of serious conflict between them. They realise the ideal of the good children in the nursery rhyme, 'When each one is willing to give up his plea, and rather have nothing than e'er disagree.' They sit together for the purpose of electing the Federal Council, which consists of seven members holding office for the three years, but almost always re-elected. Each member of it presides over a separate department; but it has small resemblance to what we call a Cabinet in this

* The procedure in the case of a National Referendum is as follows. Notice is sent to the Governments of the Cantons, and they make the necessary arrangements. Voting papers are prepared which set out briefly the nature of the law. Underneath this statement is a printed question, 'Do you accept this law?' Two answers are printed, 'Yes' and 'No,' and the voter is required to strike one of them out. When the day for polling comes the voter must take his paper to a polling station and there obtain a free stamp, which is affixed to his paper, and which is a guarantee of his identity, since the stamp is only issued to electors. After the paper has been stamped it is dropped into a ballot-box. The Referendum is taken throughout the country on the same day, and the votes are counted afterwards. A Cantonal Referendum is made similarly.

country ; it is rather a body of civil servants virtually permanent. One of them is chosen each year for the supreme office of President of the Federal Council, and is often termed 'President of the Swiss Confederation,' but he has no special powers ; and at the same time another is chosen for the office of Vice-president ; neither is eligible for re-election. The President receives a salary of 540*l.*, the other Councillors each a salary of 480*l.* ; and while in office they may not pursue any profession or carry on any business. It might well be supposed that this modest provision would fail to attract men of light and leading to assume the cares and responsibilities of office. No doubt *it* does not attract them, but something else does. The best and wisest of the Swiss are led by mere patriotism to accept positions in the Federal Council, and to lead lives of simple unostentatious devotion to the task of serving their country. They exhibit the spectacle described by Milton where 'they who are greatest are perpetual drudges and servants to the public ; . . . neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren ; live soberly in their families ; walk the streets as other men ; may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration.*'

The political constitution which the Swiss have worked out for themselves is unique in the world. It is a wonderful monument of political sagacity.† They have carried out the principle admirably stated by Herbert Spencer in his book '*The Man versus the State*.'‡ 'In a popularly governed nation, government is simply a committee of management ; its authority is given by those appointing it, and has just such bounds as they choose to impose.' Those bounds have been most effectively imposed by

* 'Ready Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth.'

† Prof. Hilty very truly remarks : 'Le génie du peuple suisse s'est toujours manifesté, dans ses meilleures périodes, et dans ses meilleurs citoyens, comme un composé remarquable d'enthousiasme et de bon sens pratique, mélange qui fait précisément le génie politique.' ('*Les Constitutions Fédérales de la Suisse*,' p. 3.)

‡ See chapter iv of that work. Mr Spencer follows up the words quoted with the remark, 'The function of Liberalism in the past was that of putting a limit to the power of Kings. The function of true Liberalism in the future will be that of putting a limit to the power of Parliaments,' of so-called representative assemblies, too many of whose members represent nothing but the audacity and mendacity wherewith they have won an election.

the citizens of Switzerland in the way that we have seen. And all this has not been done in virtue of any *a-priori* theory. The existing Swiss Constitution is the direct outcome of the Perpetual League entered into by the three Forest Cantons, in that ancient village of Altdort—still the chief town of Uri—on August 1, 1291. 'Beginning, so to speak, in a single germ, it has, by a method analogous to that witnessed in other organised bodies, gradually developed new powers and differentiated functions, in accordance with the demands of the times and the increasing complexity of modern life.'* Switzerland has never tried to make a new departure in history. Her existing institutions are 'made and moulded of things past.' The Gemeinde—the Commune—has been the centre of all political life, of all individual right, for six centuries. And during those centuries the variety of laws and the diversities of procedure existing in the various Cantons have been the guarantees of freedom. The Swiss have never bowed the knee to the 'dumb buzzard idol' of uniformity, in whose name the ancient institutions of France were broken in pieces by Jacobinism—and whose iconoclastic votaries have wrought irreparable mischief in our own country. There is not a more patriotic people in the world than the Swiss; and the nature of their patriotism is admirably expressed in Tennyson's well-known and beautiful lines:

'Love thou thy land with love far brought
From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought.'

Switzerland, as it exists, is the most democratic country on earth; its institutions, political, judiciary, administrative, economic, are indeed superlatively popular, and so are its manners and customs. But all these have grown by a natural process, '*occulto velut arbor ævo.*' It is an historic and organic democracy, and stands in a class by itself in the modern world.

Consider for a moment French democracy, if you would realise this. That is the outcome of a paper

* '*Swiss Life in Town and Country*' by Alfred Thomas Story (p. 29). I warmly commend this admirable little book to all who desire to obtain, in short compass, trustworthy and well-presented information on the subject with which it deals.

theory, largely false; it is atomistic and destructive. It is based upon an abstract man and citizen, and subsists by innovation. 'I see in the nation only grains of sand,' said the first Napoleon. He was right; and that was the secret of his successful tyranny. Personal liberties, municipal liberties, provincial liberties do not exist. All are crushed by an all-pervading and omnipotent bureaucracy worked from Paris, against which there is virtually no appeal. This is the reason why at the present moment, a small gang of atheists, having seized the centre of power, tyrannise, without let or hindrance, throughout the country, prostituting all the forms of law and all the resources of administration to the service of their crusade against the Theistic idea.* The French are a people of *administrés*. But in Switzerland, thanks to the Commune and its immemorial traditions of liberty, we find *men*, accustomed for long ages to think for themselves, to act for themselves, and, if necessary, to fight for themselves.

Again, a distinctive feature of Swiss democracy is that it is not worked by what we call parliamentary government. People in England, generally, are accustomed to regard this system as essential to liberty, forgetting that it is altogether modern and the accident of an accident, quite unknown to the free peoples of ancient and medieval times. The delusion is not unnatural when we consider how widely throughout the civilised world this parliamentary government of ours has been imitated or parodied. And so we have come to consider it almost as a law of nature that

* Of the many witnesses who might be cited in support of this statement it will be sufficient to call one, M. Viviani, the Minister of Labour, against whose competence no exception can be taken. Speaking in the French Chamber on November 8, 1906, he said: 'The Third Republic summoned round her the children of the peasant and the working man, and into their obscure minds, their unenlightened intelligences, she poured, little by little, the revolutionary germ of education. But this was not enough. With one consent with our fathers, our elders, and our fellows, we have bound ourselves throughout the past to a work of anti-clericalism and irreligion. We have torn the minds of men from religious faith. The wretched workman who, weary with the weight of his day's work, once bent his knee, we now have raised up. We have told him that behind the clouds were only chimeras. Together, and with a majestic gesture, we have put out in the heavens the lights that will never be lit again.' The fact that on the next day the Chamber resolved that M. Viviani's speech should be placarded throughout France, is sufficient to accredit him as the spokesman of his party, or rather sect.

a people which would be free should carry on its public affairs by means of political parties, two only, if possible—that is supposed to be the ideal—one in office which the other is striving, *per fas et nefas*, to turn out. What we call popular government in England is really not popular government at all; it is party government, or, to speak more correctly, government by factions masquerading as parties. There is not the slightest vestige of this system in Switzerland. The seven men who, as members of the Federal Council, administer the Swiss Confederation—and we may say the same of the administrators of the Cantons and the Communes—are chosen for their personal merits, without any sort of reference to their speculative opinions; and are continued in office by the people so long as the people are satisfied with them. As M. Desjardins well puts it, 'En Suisse les autorités ne se démettent jamais et se soumettent toujours.*' The struggle for place and power which is the pivot of English public life is unknown there. The Swiss people are spared the public shame and national dishonour attending an English general election, when quack out-bellows quack, and cold and calculated lies, such as those about Chinese slavery and the cessation of old-age pensions, are scattered broadcast by men who, embarked in a career of meditated mendacity, have forgotten how to blush. In Switzerland there is really government of the people by the people.

Let us see how differently the two systems work by comparing the treatment of the primary education question in the two countries. How that question has fared in England we all know. It has been made the stalking horse of sectarian hate. It has been engineered in the interests of that curious entity, or fiction, the Nonconformist conscience. It has been pressed into the service of the war waged by the Protestant dissenting sects against the Established Church, and indeed against all religious bodies endowed with a creed less nebulous than the 'common Christianity' which is their fetish. Now let us turn to Switzerland.

'Of all the popular votes which have taken place since the introduction of the Federal Referendum' (writes M. Deploige),

* Vol. II, p. 267.

'that of the 26th of November, 1882, is unquestionably the most notable, both from the importance of the question voted on, and from the large number of electors who went to the polls. The people were called upon to approve a Federal decree passed by the Chambers in pursuance of the terms of Article 27 of the Constitution. By that Article "the Cantons shall make provision for elementary education, which must be adequate, and placed exclusively under the direction of the civil authority. Such instruction shall be obligatory, and in the public schools free of charge. The public schools must be so organised that they may be frequented by those belonging to all denominations without prejudice to their freedom of belief or of conscience. The Confederation shall take such measures as may seem necessary against Cantons who do not fulfil their obligations in this matter."

'Since 1874 no steps had been taken to enable the Confederation to exercise its right of control over elementary education. The entire organisation, administration, and supervision of the public schools were left to the Cantonal Councils, and the provisions of Article 27 as to non-sectarian teaching were nowhere observed. In deference to the wishes of their citizens, the States had continued religious teaching within the schools, and in a great many of the Communes of the Catholic Cantons the teachers were members of recognised religious associations.

'Such a state of things seemed intolerable to the Radical majority in the Federal Assembly. They envied the laurels gained by Liberalism in other countries, and, doubtless in obedience to cosmopolitan Freemasonry, they resolved to make education the field for religious warfare. To start the campaign, they voted an inquiry into the methods of teaching in the Swiss Cantons by a Resolution framed as follows:

"Art. 1. The Federal Council are asked to make immediate inquiry, through the Department of the Interior, into the condition of the schools in the Cantons, and to make the necessary investigations in order to ensure that Article 27 be fully carried out, and to collect evidence which may form the basis of future legislation on the subject.

"Art. 2. To enable the State Department to perform its task, a special Secretary is to be appointed (Secretary of Public Instruction), whose annual salary shall be 6000 francs (240*l.*). His powers shall be determined by a special order of the Federal Council."

The proposed inquiry was bound to reveal that Article 27

had been disregarded in many places, and the immediate result was bound to be a new law on elementary education.

'The lines upon which this law would be framed were clearly indicated by a Federal Councillor when called upon for an explanation from the platform. Elementary education would be made either non-sectarian or secular. The staff would be laymen, the subjects secular, the methods secular, the school-houses secular. Education would be secular down to the most minute details, even in the purely Catholic Communes.

'The publication of the Federal Resolution was the signal for a general outcry in protest. "God in the Schools" was the motto adopted by Catholics and Orthodox Protestants throughout the whole of Switzerland. A vast petition was organised within a short time, to which 180,995 signatures were appended. No demand for a Referendum had ever been so strongly supported before. It is easy to imagine the energy with which the campaign was conducted up to the day of voting. The authors and partisans of the Resolution used every means in their power to ensure success. They raised a bogus cry against Catholicism, denounced the danger of clericalism, and, as a supreme argument, represented the Jesuits as waiting to enter the country. It was all in vain. The common-sense of the country asserted itself, and could not be exploited as in 1874. All these intrigues were estimated at their real worth, and on the 26th of November the Federal Resolution was rejected by 318,139 votes to 172,010.

'Catholics, Federalists, Orthodox Protestants, and religious people generally, united to vote "No." The minority was composed of German Radicals, Freethinkers, and Socialists. The Referendum on this occasion did good service for Switzerland. It checked the advance of anti-religious Radicalism at the very first step, and saved the country from the educational struggle and its deplorable consequences.' *

Such was the decision of the Swiss people on this grave question; and although, when it was arrived at, the majority of the Federal Council consisted—and has ever since consisted—of men who would rather have seen another solution, it has been loyally respected. Each Canton makes its own arrangements for the promotion and organisation of elementary education, taking

* 'The Referendum in Switzerland,' by Simon Deploige. English translation, p. 222,

care to observe the provision of the Constitution, that it must be 'sufficient, obligatory, gratuitous, and unsectarian.' The ways in which this provision is observed are various. In the Catholic Cantons religious instruction takes its place with other subjects of study. But it is given at stated hours, and every facility for absenting themselves is afforded to children whose parents wish them to receive only secular instruction. In the Protestant Cantons a like result is obtained. Matthew Arnold has truly observed in his well-known Report, 'Whoever has seen the divisions caused in a so-called logical nation like the French by this principle of the neutrality of the popular school, in matters of religion, might expect difficulty here. None whatever has arisen. The Swiss communities, applying the principle for themselves, and not leaving theorists and politicians to apply it for them, have done in the matter what they consider proper, and have in every popular school religious instruction in the religion of the majority, a Catholic instruction in Catholic Cantons like Luzern, a Protestant in Protestant Cantons like Zürich; and there is no unfair dealing, no proselytising, no complaint.'

One must have lived in Switzerland, or at all events must have seen a great deal of the people of that country, to understand the place which education holds there in the national life. It has been said, not without truth, that the Swiss have the pedagogic instinct in ampler measure than any other people. They take a pride in their schools, and in everything connected with them. 'In the matter of education,' wrote Sir Horace Rumbold, when Secretary of Legation at Bern, 'they manifest a veritable passion, and it is a thing worthy of sincere admiration to note what heavy self-imposed pecuniary sacrifices they will cheerfully make to this cause. The public foundations, the private gifts, the State contributions devoted to education by this otherwise thrifty, close-fisted race, may be truly said to be noble in the extreme.' Mr Winchester notes that 'great attention is given to the school windows as to their comfort and convenience. The windows must face the east or south-east, and the benches be so arranged that the light falls upon the child's left hand. Then there is sure to be a large and grassy plot for the children's playground, with a fountain

of pure water in it, shady trees, and all the accessories for athletic exercises. The schoolhouse is the most commodious, modern, and handsome edifice to be seen in a Swiss town. . . . The pupil's manners and appearance are cared for. He is taught how to appear and act, no less than how to read and write, how to walk, stand, and speak; that his hands and his face should be kept clean as well as papers and books. . . . The desks, though extremely plain, look as if they are daily washed and polished; not a spot or a splash of ink to be seen on their surface, nor any evidence of the bad boy's knife; the large corridors and spacious stairways show no scratch or scrawl; the wall is free from finger-marks or inscriptions, and there are no bits of paper on the floor. The children, representing all classes of society, from the patrician down to the peasant, are neatly and comfortably clad; none dirty, ragged, or shoeless.* I should not omit to point out that the teacher in the Swiss primary schools is something more than an instructor in set subjects of study. The Swiss know well that the true object of education is not to cram the brain with fragments of knowledge, useful or useless, but to form the character. The schoolmaster in Switzerland is the 'guide, philosopher, and friend' of the children entrusted to him, taking part in their diversions, wandering with them in forests and fields, quietly gaining a knowledge of their disposition, and judiciously winning their confidence and affection. Perhaps to the refining and humanising influence of the teacher—often a man of considerable cultivation—are due the good manners which are so striking a characteristic of Swiss school-children. They exhibit, I must add, a very pleasing contrast to the ways of the children of our primary schools, which, as I remember Mr Ruskin once remarked, seem to be largely devoted to the teaching of impudence. 'The Swiss children,' writes Mr Story, 'have always appeared to me very delightful. In town and country alike they invariably meet one with a frank, ingenuous look, and, not uncommonly, with a bright sunny smile. It is rare to observe in them any rudeness either of speech or manner. Indeed I cannot recall a single instance of

* p. 262.

impoliteness on the part of a Swiss boy or girl. . . . In the villages or on the country roads they rarely meet you without a polite 'Guten Tag' or 'Bonjour,' and if you should happen to inquire the way to some place, they will not unfrequently take considerable trouble to see that you go right. As a rule they show the greatest trust, and with a little encouragement they will enter into conversation, and prove themselves very agreeable companions if they happen to be going your way.*

Let us glance at a few more questions which Switzerland has satisfactorily solved, while other countries—our own for example—have been blundering round about a solution. Take the question which, as Lord Curzon has reminded us in a recent speech at Oxford, is the question of questions for us—the question of national defence. It has been solved by Switzerland in a manner which has taken captive the wondering world. She knows well—it is the lesson which the defence and augmentation of her hard won liberties, during long centuries, has taught her—that if a man is worthy of freedom he must be ready and able to fight for it. And, by a system justly dear to the Swiss people, they have been put into a position of such readiness and ability.

'The Swiss army' (writes Mr Winchester) 'is based upon a "voluntary-compulsory" system. It is essentially a force of militia intended for defensive purposes only. Admirable as it is in a military and economic sense, it is scarcely more than a summer holiday, compared with the rigid and grinding martial duties under the other European systems. Two things make it a light burden, if not a diversion for the Swiss. They have a strong military instinct coming down through generations. Then this instinct is in every possible manner encouraged and developed by the Government, the Canton, and the Commune. The elements of drill begin with the first week of a boy's schooling, as soon as he can stand erect or poise a stick. All kinds of games are practised that tend to open and expand the chest, to nerve the limbs, give carriage to the form, and serve to strengthen, temper, and adjust it. All these exercises fit him, and, in fact, contemplate his becoming in time a soldier. He not only learns in his youth the elements of drill and the use of arms, but habits of obedience, order, and cleanliness, and even those yet higher

* 'Swiss Life in Town and Country,' p. 158.

duties of a camp, the will to mingle class with class, to put down personal hopes and seek no object but the public good.*

As a pendant to these remarks of the distinguished American diplomatist we may take the following from the work of Sir Francis Adams and Mr Cunningham:

'The Swiss army is absolutely complete in every detail; the medical, commissariat, and veterinary departments are thoroughly organised; there is the proper proportion of cavalry, artillery, engineers, and transport; the battalions are kept up to their full strength and all in readiness for service. In fact, all the adjuncts for making an army a mobile factor in the field are, with the Swiss system of administration, complete and in thorough working order.

The organisation of the Swiss army is, in fact, as admirable as is the patriotic spirit of the two hundred thousand odd men of whom it consists. The whole able-bodied male population constitutes the army of Switzerland. It is the old Teutonic idea of the folk, as 'the people in arms.' And the Swiss soldier is better clad, better drilled, and better disciplined than are the soldiers of any other nation. He costs his country 7*l.* annually.† It may be well to cite here certain words of Lord Rosebery's. In a speech delivered at Edinburgh on the 4th of December 1908, he said, 'I myself am a believer in the Swiss system by which every able-bodied man is compelled to train for a short time, so that, at any rate, he may be capable, at a pinch, of being produced as an efficient soldier. Switzerland is the purest democracy existent in Europe and would not endure any but a democratic system of defence.'

Another question which is forcing itself upon the serious consideration of thoughtful men in this country is the question of socialism. There are socialists in Switzerland. Yes; but what kind of socialists? Socialism, it must be remembered, is the vaguest of words

* P. 248. Mr Winchester adds: 'In the public schools even the girls receive some training which fits them to be useful auxiliaries in the army. They are taught to staunch the flow of blood, to dress a gun-shot wound, and to nurse the sick; they know some chemistry, and are quick at sewing, binding, dressing, and such medical arts, and, if needed, they would march with knapsacks on their backs, as their mothers did in times past' (p. 250).

† The British soldier costs on an average 77*l.*, the German 54*l.*, and the French 45*l.*

covering a multitude of doctrines. Mr Lowell has well remarked that 'The Swiss Confederation, unlike almost every other State in Europe, has no irreconcilables; the only persons in its territory who could in any sense be classed under that name being a mere handful of anarchists, and these are foreigners.' The Swiss socialists, as a body, do not dream of suppressing private property whether in land or in other things. It would be rather curious if they did in a country which surpasses all others in the wide distribution of land ownership, its 5,378,122 acres devoted to agriculture being divided among 258,639 proprietors.* As in Switzerland we have government of the people by the people, so we have ownership of the land by the people, two great factors of social order and of a stable polity. It is no paradox to say that socialism in Switzerland is conservative. It aims not at destruction, but at construction; not at rapine, but at the rational distribution of wealth. It aims at socialising the public services—and the aim seems to me reasonable enough. It does not aim at establishing an omnipotent State. The remedy which it proposes for the evils of capitalism is co-operation. As M. Th. Curti, a high authority, remarks: 'In face of the success with which social reform has been crowned in Switzerland, theoretic debates about the essence of socialism and the like could present no great attraction to our workmen. . . . Speculations about the iron law of wages, the proletariat of the masses, and the strife between classes, did not much unsettle their minds, because, thanks to our political liberties, the field was always open further to social reform, and a continual exchange of ideas, and of concessions, took place between the various classes of society.'†

Once more, does our country present any more disgraceful spectacle than the presence of an army of vagrants in our midst, parading London streets, infesting country roads, and filling the casual wards of our work-houses? Let us see how the Swiss have dealt with this problem of vagrancy. In the first place, they distinguish between the work-seekers and the work-shunners. In most

* The average size of the farms throughout the whole of Switzerland is not more than twenty-one acres.

† Quoted by Prof. Clerget, 'La Suisse au xx^e Siècle,' p. 176.

Cantons a wanderer who can prove that he is a genuine labourer may obtain food and lodging at any one of some hundreds of 'resthouses' dotted over a large part of Switzerland. On the other hand, if a man persists in begging, if he makes his wife and family a charge on the public by his devotion to liquor, if he is, in the expressive word which finds a place in the Swiss statutes, 'work-shy,' he is warned once or twice, and, if that proves ineffective, he is sent to a forced-labour farm for some months, or even years, where he has to work hard, whilst strenuous efforts are made to improve his character. This system has been eminently successful—indeed it has almost entirely delivered Switzerland from vagrancy. I cannot see to what rational objection it is open. It is merciful, nay, kind, to the honest man out of work. And if it provides stern treatment for the denizens of its labour colonies, that is precisely what is merited by the tramp who deliberately avoids every kind of lawful occupation, diverts to himself the sympathy due to the industrious poor, and terrorises the community.

I might say much more, but perhaps I have said enough to show why I have arrived at the same conclusion as Mr Lowell:

'The Swiss Confederation is, on the whole, the most successful democracy in the world. . . . The people are contented; the Government is patriotic, far-sighted, efficient, and economical, steady in its policy, not changing its course with party fluctuations. Corruption in public life is almost unknown. . . . Officials are selected on their merits, and retained as long as they can do their work, and yet the evils of a bureaucracy scarcely exist. All this bears witness to the capacity of the Swiss for self-government.'

Students of political science will nowhere find more striking object-lessons in popular government. They should hardly require the caution with which Mr Lowell supplements his encomium: 'We must beware of thinking that the methods [of the Swiss publicists] would produce the same effects under different conditions. The problem they have had to solve is that of self-government among a small, stable, and frugal people; and this is far simpler than self-government in a great, rich, and ambitious nation.'*

W. S. LILLY.

* Vol. ii, p. 335.

Art. 9.—GEORGE MEREDITH. ✓

The Collected Works of George Meredith. Thirty-one vols.
London: Constable, 1896-8.

THE art of fiction, in all its innumerable divagations of the last hundred and fifty years, must truly by now have provided material enough for a generalised criticism of its nature, its scope, its limiting conditions; but criticism can hardly be said to have yet made any calculated attempt to survey the whole parti-coloured field and to define the principles which seem to be implied. In the early and bravely irresponsible days of the novel there could be no possibility of such a definition. So long as the art was still purely experimental, so long as it could spread in all directions over virgin soil, criticism could merely watch discreetly and take provisional note of failures and successes. But fiction must follow, and is already following, the line of development which carries it from its first expansive thoughtlessness to self-conscious deliberation. It must run its course, like other forms of art; it must lose certain qualities and assume others; it must submit to maturity and make the best of it without trying to reproduce the essentially youthful graces of its past. It continues so unmistakably to hold its own as the most characteristic form of our time that a distinguished future, it is impossible to doubt, still lies before it. But it must pay the penalty of its prolonged predominance by learning to 'know itself' and to realise its principles. Such a process implies loss in a hundred ways, loss perhaps of the very qualities for which we most incline to value the art; but if the sacrifice is inevitable it is only the sharper challenge to the novelist to develop new values in their place. An artist is of his time, and if he inherits a form which has already yielded its first freshness he has to find the base of his work in the qualities that remain. Criticism steps in at this stage and tries to express the results that have been established, patiently hoping, be it confessed, to avoid its usual mistake of making the art square with its formula instead of moulding its formula on the art.

No attempt can of course be made here to co-ordinate

the scattered achievements of fiction in the manner suggested; but the single illustrious case to be considered will be approached as far as possible from this point of view. The work of George Meredith, so sumptuous and so varied, has for its admirers intellectual, moral, philosophical appeals which have perhaps to some extent obscured the question of its strictly artistic characterisation. Much has been written upon the strong consistent view of the world, of nature and society, which lies alike behind his novels and his poetry; but the art which went to its expression has usually been treated as a detachable matter, something to be estimated side by side, even if in the same prominence, with the personal doctrines of the great writer. Meredith cut so deep into his material and laid open such new sources that the fruition of his thought has occupied his critics before the form in which it was embodied. If it is attempted to reverse the process there can be little danger of overlooking the matter for the sake of the manner, for from this side the two things cannot be separated. The personality of an artist can be disentangled from his art, but never his art from his personality.

True, surely, of all writers, this is trebly true of Meredith, so sharply stamped with the mark of his brain and spirit was everything he touched. The most obviously Shakespearean in a certain sense of modern authors, he was nevertheless the least so if the word is used of that aspect of Shakespeare's work which gives us the most striking example in all literature of an apparent exception to our rule, the aspect in which the writer is merged, almost beyond possibility of recovery, in his creations. Meredith is never for an instant in this sense dramatic. His own presence dominates every page of his books; and often enough, both in his prose and his poetry, we seem less to be handling a fashioned and self-complete work of art than to be actually present in his studio, watching while he flies impetuously at the marble which hides the statue, and perhaps at times more conscious of the process, of the crackle of blows and the hail of white chips, than of the lurking goddess. Yet even so, though the din and the effort may interfere with one kind of enjoyment, the display of power, the determination and the onslaught, joined with the sense

that the possible prize is worth the struggle and that the unconquered block does in fact conceal the divine—all this makes of such an experience an exhilarating memory for craftsman or critic. It fires the athletic quality which is part of the mind of every artist, and shows in the perfected work, when at other times it is given us rounded and flawless, the temper which the highest beauty receives from brain alone.

Meredith's art, indeed, as we follow it from book to book, reflects one long conflict with stubborn and recalcitrant material. It is as though he could never be content until he should make language do a little more than it ever will. Most writers by middle life have acquiesced in the limitations of their medium, and their submission is dignified, rightly enough, by the style of mastery of their craft. There is, then, in the typical case, a moment at which hand and brain work in harmony and produce their best work, before the time arrives when the hand, now completely controlled, is found to be closing upon a gradually weakening substance. That is, on the whole, the evolution more or less clearly to be traced in most cases. But Meredith's record is utterly different. The compromise between intention and result, between thought and word, is struck with extraordinary precocity in his earliest work and with ever increasing difficulty in his later. Not of course necessarily on this account is 'The Ordeal of Richard Feverel' a better book than 'One of our Conquerors,' when the scope, the significance, the final product of the balance is considered, as well as its nicety. But while it is solely a question of the command of the medium in which he worked, it is easy to see that the Meredith of 1859 was far surer of poised and sustained effect than the Meredith of thirty years later. The rocky utterance with which his stories tended more and more to be wrenched into being was the exaggeration no doubt of an inherent mannerism; but to name it thus does not carry us far. With the living force which Meredith throughout poured into his work, the history of its style becomes the history of its substance; and the growing sense of effort merely implies that he charged his art with ever more complicated burdens. No other imaginative writer of our time has had to reckon with a

brain so perennially insurgent and insistent. Meredith's intellect touched life at an immense number of points and could rest at none of them. He was only incidentally a painter of nature and society; essentially he was an interpreter of one and a critic of the other. The distinction places him nearer Carlyle than Browning; for Browning, though in his case also intellectual curiosity never relaxed its strain upon his art, was far less a critic than a portrait-painter, and was more interested in character, for its own sake, than Meredith ever was.

X We thus arrive at what must be called a fundamental weakness in Meredith's attitude as a novelist pure and simple. Character is the corner-stone of fiction, and the variation of an inch in its position must more or less insidiously affect the whole fabric. It is perfectly true of course that a novel is in one sense necessarily a criticism of life, for the simple reason that nothing a human being may say or do can imaginably be anything else. Nor must it be suggested that good fiction cannot be produced except upon the most strictly impersonal lines. All this may be admitted without touching the assertion that fiction is the master-art of representation, and is more than this only at its own risk and on its own responsibility. So far from resenting the limitation, fiction should glory in it and be ever ready to look jealously on the tendency to infringe it. It is, or it should be, the especial pride of this beautiful art that it can *represent* more fully and freely, with greater subtlety and greater precision, than any other; and it ought not to forget that, however often it may do it with impunity, to allow other considerations to cloud the issue is really by just so much to compromise its unique power. To be interested first and foremost in character as such is the novelist's safeguard and justification. Meredith's interest in character was ultimately relative; it was closely modelled, that is to say, upon his philosophy, and it was in their bearing upon his philosophy that men and women appealed to him. The desire to show their value or their uselessness was the larger part of his desire to portray them; and, often as he might portray them magnificently, this constant preoccupation must be taken into account if we try to speculate as to the verdict which will eventually be passed upon his work. It must also be distin-

guished from the obvious truth that for the strictest novelist human beings have a varying range of values, the difference being that judgment depends for him upon the æsthetic and not upon the ethical elements of the case.

We are here promptly confronted with the question whether the novel was really the form best fitted for this masterful imagination, or whether it might not have expressed itself with less hindrance in some more confessedly personal shape. But it will not do, we must be firmly reminded, to be tempted at this point by a question so completely in the air; the plain fact being that when Meredith began to write, as indeed when he ceased, no other form was possible for creative work on a scale so extended. Art, it would seem, insists on claiming that at least its greatest followers should, at any given epoch, keep to the main lines of its evolution. They must accept the forms which lie to their hand, wilfulness in such a matter being allowed only to those whose force is intense rather than broad. Meredith's power was too varied for any but the central stream, whatever its disadvantages; he was a novelist by predestination. Nor should it be forgotten that this very clash between the claim of art on one hand and individual impulse on the other may actually discover compensating sources of strength; as indeed conflict in some shape or other, with consequent sacrifice, seems ever necessary for the engendering of the best. It is surely, for example, not fanciful to trace to what we have called Meredith's initial weakness as a novelist one of the most characteristic and important qualities of his work. With an outlook on life so little detached, with an interest so speculative and constructive, with a range of opinion so positive in its operations, Meredith's grasp of actuality was far-reaching in proportion to his want of impartial serenity. This may seem a paradox in view of the inevitable objection that 'actual' is the last word one would apply to the world of his novels; and it is of course true that in the sense of a photographic transcript nothing could well be further from daily fact. And yet it must be felt that Meredith's novels, for all their curiously alien atmosphere, are somehow or other deeply embedded in life. Other writers may draw more recognisable scenes; Meredith contrives to place us in company

which, in spite of seeming at times like a mad dream, never allows us to question that something living and genuine is going forward.

Yet, vivid as was Meredith's sense of life, his rendering of it was always in indirect terms. He was as entirely in and of the Victorian age as man could be, and his types were for the most part of the essence of the nineteenth century; but the air he set them in and the light he shed upon them have the effect of carrying the whole action back to the most spacious days of the *ancien régime*. Horse-whippings, duels, abductions, heroic conviviality, high-handed rollicks of all kinds—Meredith's drama, whatever the scene or the period, was ever charged with epic reverberations of such matters. It is needless to say that this whole-hearted delight in the romantic stock-in-trade had nothing about it either vulgar or obvious. It was not the commonplace desire of the man of letters hungering to take a hand in great enterprises for which he has been born too late. It was something much more fundamental than this, much more entwined in his artistic aims. If real life enacts itself in Meredith's novels upon a plane of unreality, it must be remembered that a peculiarly heightened and concentrated effect was thereby obtainable. Meredith singled out certain qualities—courage, spirit, pride, sentimentalism—and threw them into the strongest possible relief. He did much more than record them; he blazed light upon them, he raised their power, so to say, by intensifying their setting. The level of ordinary life was much too low for the strongly symbolic parts his heroes and heroines had to play. 'My people are actual, yet uncommon,' he himself pointed out. 'It is the clockwork of the brain that they are directed to set in motion.' High comedy cannot be rendered in terms of our daily intercourse; it requires isolation, a swept stage, an artful disposition of lights. The framework which for Meredith gave the required relief was florid and artificial; in it his characters could not merely be themselves, they could be strikingly and exceptionally themselves.

All novelists are, of course, confronted with this problem, which is simply the all-embracing problem of turning life into art, the discovery of the right artistic notation for the theme selected. Of this part of the

business Meredith was a past-master. His presentation of life is everywhere homogeneous; it bears to actuality a uniform and consistent relation. To choose one method of presentation, and not to be reduced (within the same work) to appealing for help from another, is perhaps less recognised as the plainest demand of art in fiction than in any other literary form. Perfect examples of this admirable economy are plentiful through the length and breadth of Meredith's novels. To single one out, we may point to two scenes from 'Sandra Belloni'—the moonlight expedition, with its characteristic interweaving of irony and lyrical rapture, in search of the unknown singer in the wood, and the delirious farce of Mrs Chump's capture of Braintop to help her in concocting her letter to the Miss Poles. Remote from each other, the two scenes are yet translations from life into one and the same language. Mrs Chump's voluble indignation and despair are no more 'realistic' in treatment than Emilia's liquid melody ringing through the night. Both are equally true, both are at the same angle to literal fact. There is no descent from one to the other; they are wrought up to the same pitch and by the same broad, sweeping strokes.

As marked as Meredith's care for consistency of tone was his curious indifference to background. This again may seem for the moment a paradox if we think of his superb power of brushing in a whole landscape in half a sentence, or if we remember only certain scenes in which outbursting emotion melts into sea or sky or land, transfusing and transfiguring them, absorbing their very essence into its own mood. But chapters like 'Morning at Sea under the Alps,' or 'By Wilming Weir,' are exceptional invocations of the beauty of day and night to surround and envelope human passion. Such exquisite visions of poetry are only for moments of great exaltation. For the most part we ask in vain for any sufficient means of realising pictorially the action which is passing. The defect is particularly noticeable in the uncomfortable sterility with which so many of them open. 'Vittoria,' with its rapturous initial ascent into the crystal mountain air of Italy, is an exception; 'Harry Richmond' very notably another, with its picture of the sleeping house suddenly roused, the door opening to the soft February night. But in most of them we are

allowed no chance of feeling *placed* at the start. We are plunged straight into the moral atmosphere of the action; but the absence of suggested form is a little bewildering to the most steady-headed reader. In the whirl of distant talk and laughter which opens the story proper of 'Diana of the Crossways' it is as though the play had begun before the raising of the curtain; and indeed throughout that wonderful book a full square view of the scene is seldom permitted. In 'The Egoist,' with its entirely simple scheme of time and place, the disadvantages of the spectator's position are still more obvious, for the scene never shifts after the first few chapters, and yet Patterne Hall remains to the end more or less of an abstraction. Quite as much as any toughness of phrasing, this defect is no doubt responsible for the obscurity which must in candour be allowed, even by the expert, to be a reasonable charge against many or most of the novels. It is essential to clarity that the sense of *where* the characters are should be plainly given; and we ask the question, in reading Meredith, a great deal oftener than we receive an answer.

But here again it is important to be reminded that a defect so obvious demands, in a writer like Meredith, something more than simple indication. Its origin and its reason need to be further traced in the texture of his art, and this demands a closer examination of his method of handling a story. The later novels differ very considerably in structure from the earlier; and it is in the later that the featurelessness of the background, whilst it is also more pronounced, is by the nature of the case more explicable. That extraordinary maze of poetry and fantasy, 'The Shaving of Shagpat,' stands apart; but from 'The Ordeal of Richard Feverel' to 'Beauchamp's Career'* the treatment is that of a chronicle rather than of a study. There is no sharply marked break; the change is gradual, and 'Beauchamp's Career' itself has almost as much affinity with the later books as with its predecessors. But, broadly speaking, if we compare (say) 'Evan Harrington' with 'Diana of the Crossways,' the difference is clear enough for an attempt to define it. Each

* The novels that come between these two are 'Evan Harrington,' 'Sandra Belloni,' 'Rhoda Fleming,' 'Vittoria,' 'The Adventures of Harry Richmond.'

deals with a particular figure and a particular case; but the first is felt as something to be recorded and described, the latter as something to be interpreted and explained. The first therefore has the greater externality and should naturally take the more pictorial form. So to some extent it does; and 'Harry Richmond,' with its wider sweep, has more than the rest a certain panoramic quality. But even in these simpler histories the pre-occupation of the critic, noted a few pages back, affects the method of the chronicler. Meredith's exuberant brain was always driving his perception of his characters into opinions about them, and to the same extent leaving him neither time nor patience to give his *mise-en-scène* its full value for the eye. He felt the relation of his figures to the social picture, English or international, more acutely than he felt their relation to the background of the moment. He could not 'curb the liberal hand, subservient proudly,' in Browning's phrase. At the same time he did, in his earlier work, on the whole handle the story as a sequence of events, to be approached from without and carried through at a more or less even pace.

In the later books the treatment is less biographic and more discursive; 'what did they do?' gives place to 'how did they come to do it?' The change of structure may be expressed by saying that the movement spreads outwards from within, surging from side to side into the recesses of the character to be examined. In 'The Egoist' and 'Diana of the Crossways' the centre lies in a single figure whose actions are but the point of departure for a searching exploration of the groundwork of the mind underneath them. In 'The Tragic Comedians' as in the three latest novels ('One of our Conquerors,' 'Lord Ormont and his Aminta,' 'The Amazing Marriage'), the centre is found in a particular situation, in at least two cases based upon actual record, the problem being to reason back from the facts, objectively stated, to their inner history. Such, says Meredith in effect, is the story of Alvan and Clotilde; the facts are these; now what are we to make of them? Thus Lord Ormont treated his wife: why? and what motives, scrutinising the case as closely as we may, can we find underlying her rejoinder? Evenness of pace is now of small account. The story lingers and broadens, leaps an interval, lingers again,

It is as though the whole action lay spread out before the writer at the start; he surveys it, comments on it, disposes of it point by point; he does not *tell* it. Artistically speaking, these packed overflowing studies of character and dilemma are open to the destructive objection that their density is governed by no definite design. Vital aspects become huddled and fore-shortened, sometimes even almost overlooked, in the exposition. How insufficiently, for example, is the amazing marriage itself prepared for in advance; we have to swallow it, an indigestible fact, while still imperfectly seeing how it arises out of the character of the pair. Again, the position, when their history opens, of Victor Radnor and Nataly, the legacy of twenty years of difficulty which is already behind them—how shadowily this past is realised before we are plunged into the development of the situation. Many examples could be given of this impatience of preparation, which, added to the increased scenic bareness, makes the reader's task ever less straightforward. Yet to the end, though the gathering force of the directing intellect seemed more and more to be baffled by the difficulties of clarity, these later books are full as ever of the torrential imagination which expressed itself in so many living and memorable shapes.

‘In Meredith’s gallery of creations there can be no doubt which series stands out most bravely and takes the eye with the freshest beauty and originality. In Shakespeare only can we find anything to set beside his long series of portraits of women. Since Shakespeare no one but Meredith has painted women with the same full and romantic sureness. He drew them—his especial strength was that he did so—from a securely masculine point of view. It is this that, even when he most boldly tracks their inner thought, always prevents the picture from becoming a mawkish or sentimental abstraction. He never lost sight of the sane relation of man and woman to each other; and, highly as he might idealise his heroines, this ever-present consciousness was the charm which kept every most subtle touch perfectly sound and robust. The heroine of romance sprang with his first book straight to the position which she had never occupied since the days of Rosalind and Portia. She became a woman in a more complete sense than a woman drawn by a feminine hand

can ever be. Only where strong imaginative sympathy is grounded upon a firmly balanced virility, a sufficiently rare conjunction, are such portraits possible as those of Lucy Desborough or of Emilia, of Clara Middleton or Carinthia. The heroes who are mated with these peerless creatures fall into two main groups, one typified by Richard Feverel and Harry Richmond, the other by Vernon Whitford and Redworth. The admirable vividness of the former and the colourless tenuity of the latter proves curiously how necessary for a successful portrait it is that sympathy should be stoutened by a certain detachment. Meredith had imaged Richard and Harry from without, had watched and noted them, before he pictured them from within; and for the latter part of the process imagination had to make a definite effort and readjustment of itself. But Vernon and Redworth, Merthyr Powys and Owain Wythan, were too closely akin to the writer's mind to be surveyed as images before being described as characters, with the result that they do not crystallise sharply enough to form recognisable figures. For a true comprehension of Meredith himself they need close examination; but as actors in their own dramas it must be admitted that they utterly fail to stand out.

Their inconclusiveness, however, is the less felt that none of them occupies or is designed to occupy a place in the front plane of the books in which they appear. They do not therefore contradict the judgment that Meredith had an unrivalled power of consistently giving his principal figures their full emphasis. The latter hold the stage and predominate; the most strongly marked of the subsidiary characters never dispute it with them. Even the matchless and irrepressible Countess de Saldar gets no more than her due. 'Evan Harrington,' moreover, illustrates another delicacy which shows the cunning of Meredith's hand in this matter of relative prominence. It is necessary to the story that the presence of the great Mel should make an effect at the start out of all proportion to our actual glimpses of him; and Meredith manages with extraordinary art that he shall unforgettably pervade the atmosphere. An analogous case is that of Richmond Roy, the irresistible *bravura* of whose personality is felt as much in his absence as when he is brought before us. Where, as in 'Lord Ormont and

his *Aminta*, several characters have to be kept simultaneously to the fore, the handling is no less masterly. Indeed the one comparative failure in this respect is 'The Amazing Marriage,' where the different figures do no doubt tend to jostle and obscure each other unduly.

It is impossible here to examine in detail the army of minor creations which crowd to the mind in the wake of the foremost. Their variety, the wide range of station and type from which they are culled, expresses Meredith's great comprehensive reach over the social structure and the multiplicity of his affinities with life. He is as familiar in 'Rhoda Fleming' and 'Harry Richmond' with the atmosphere of the wallflower-coloured farm-houses in which he so delights, as elsewhere with the highly artificialised aspirations of the Poles or with the alert restlessness of Diana and her circle. Mrs Berry, Mrs Chump, Mrs Waddy, form a chapter by themselves; Ottilia's Professor, Shrapnel, Dr Middleton, another. All of them, it must again be emphasised, receive the figurative treatment, the deliberate translation from literal fact, which was indicated above. It is no criticism to say they are 'exaggerated'; though it may be confessed that occasionally, as with the terrible Ladies Busshe and Culmer of 'The Egoist,' and with the Peridons and Pemp-ton of the Radnors' music-making circle, they approach mere formulæ, impossible of recognition. But we must pass over the tempting opportunities for insight into Meredith's art which are afforded even by failures of this kind, and be content with selecting two aspects of character peculiarly illustrative of his power.

The first is one familiar enough in life to make its unfamiliarity in fiction a proof of the extreme difficulty of portraying it. The warmth, the freshness, the fragrant charm so often worn by middle age are qualities that only the most sensitive art can catch in their likeness and unlikeness to the same qualities as worn by youth. Their representation is a matter of half-tones and veiled lights which elude any but the lightest hand. Many a practised novelist can draw the sympathetic elements of character which belong essentially to middle life and are born of it; but Meredith, in such sketches as Dorothy Beltham and Rosamund Culling does much more than this. He draws youthfulness that remains young and

desirable though shadowed and softened by time. Our modern idea of the point reasonably to be called the *mezzo del cammin*, is of course a great deal more generous than that of our grandfathers; and Dorothy, at any rate, may perhaps be regarded as middle-aged only in the same sense as Anne Elliot, who, as we know, had resigned all pretensions to youth long before she was thirty. But the actual number of ascribed years do not affect the question. Anne is middle-aged because Jane Austen so conceived her; and we may place not only Dorothy but the beautiful heroine of the 'Tale of Chloe,' that fine picture of tragic passion in a setting of the most fantastic rococo, in the same category. But Meredith's supreme triumph in this connexion is the figure of Nataly in 'One of our Conquerors.' Here we have a portrait, full and complete, which probably could not be paralleled in our literature. In her Meredith achieved the feat of describing one of his own young heroines—for Nataly in her youth would have been unmistakably a subject for him—leaving her all her buoyant beauty, yet enriching it with difficult experience. Thackeray no doubt did something of the same kind in drawing Lady Castlewood, but his task was an easier one by the extent to which his view of femininity was narrower. By the time he imagined Nataly, Meredith had long ago emancipated the heroine of fiction from her obligation to square with the earlier view of her as incurably, charmingly unjust and capricious and jealous. She was built upon finer lines by now and demanded a more comprehensive insight.

The other aspect of Meredith's command of character which we will single out shall be his unique grasp of international contrast. No one else has ventured to bring men and women of other languages so freely to the front of the picture as did the creator of Ottilia and Vittoria and Renée, of Dr Julius von Karsteg and Mr Pericles and Carlo Ammiani. Meredith's keen sense for what is English was sharpened by his strong appreciation of complementary qualities to be looked for elsewhere. He carried his discriminations too far, perhaps, in his insistence on the somewhat arbitrary antithesis between Celt and Saxon; his fondness for tracing certain sterling qualities to a Welsh strain was possibly a little more loyal than critical. But in the wider field his perception was

that of a man who dealt directly with life and accepted no conventional figments. The individual charm of their different countries is expressed in Otilia, Vittoria, Renée, as ripely as is the English spirit in Lucy and Rose Jocelyn and Janet Ilchester. And for vigorous criticism, digging to the roots of character, the questioning to which Harry Richmond is subjected in his midnight colloquy with Dr Julius shows Meredith at his full strength. This scene in particular is so indicative of Meredith's personal point of view that a few sentences may be quoted:

'He sent out quick spirts of smoke rolling into big volumes. "Nay, my good young Englishman; but, on the other hand, you have not answered me. And hear me; yes, you have shown us a representation of freedom. True; but you are content with it in a world that moves by computation some considerable sum upwards of sixty thousand miles an hour."

"Not on a fresh journey—a recurring course!" said I.

"Good!" he applauded, and I was flattered.

"I grant you the physical illustration," the Professor continued, and with a warm gaze on me, I thought. "The mind journeys somewhat in that way, and we in our old Germany hold that the mind advances notwithstanding. . . . Somewhither we tend, shell and spirit. You English, fighting your little battles of domestic policy, and sneering at us for flying at higher game,—you unimpressionable English, who won't believe in the existence of aims that don't drop on the ground before your eyes, and squat and stare at you, you assert that man's labour is completed when the poor are kept from crying out. Now my question is, have you a scheme of life consonant with the spirit of modern philosophy—with the views of intelligent, moral, humane human beings of this period? Or are you one of your robust English brotherhood worthy of a Caligula in his prime, lions in gymnastics—for a time; sheep always in the dominions of mind; and all of one pattern, all in a rut!"' ('Harry Richmond,' ch. xxix.)

The whole of this admirably expressive chapter reveals the rich and trenchant mind of the author himself. It yields a clue to the recognition of the embracing plan to which all Meredith's work was ever related. 'Yes, yes, I comprehend,' says Dr Julius a little later; 'your country breeds honourable men, chivalrous youngsters. . . . It's not enough—not enough. I want to see a mental force, energy of brain.' There we have it.

All gifts of character, good dispositions and good intentions, vigour and perseverance, love and pride and chivalry—there is nothing that may not crumble to calamity, the best to the worst, where the initial impulse is not started by a clear and candid brain. It is brain only that can point the way, brain only that can utilise aright all the conflicting elements received by us from nature, none of which can man afford to suppress and to none altogether to trust himself. Life is not so simple a matter as the rejection of one-half of nature and a blind faith in the other; our task is nothing so simple as a flat discrimination between good and evil, each bearing an unqualified title. 'Blood, brain, and spirit—so Meredith figured the great triad on the harmonisation of which our lives have to be built; and if the discerning principle of brain is not incessantly active and vigilant the true chord will never be struck. All the tragedy and comedy of Meredith's creative work revolves round this central doctrine. It is present in his wit and in his irony, in his fierce exposure of sentimentalism, in his insistence on the rottenness of pride that is grounded in egoism; it is present in his glorification of freedom and sanity, and in the imperishable beauty of his lovers' idylls. 'Trace these spirited actions and these fine raptures to their roots,' he seems to say. 'If they spring from the sound understanding that is ready to give each side of our nature its due, and no more than its due, all will be well. But if character has been stunted or warped by any failure to see life in its true proportions, then expect disaster.'

The doctrine is expanded and reiterated to the last fullness in his poetry. It is here that we find, varied in a hundred different moods and strains, and in a form so elaborately symbolised that it is possible perhaps to read too much into it, his view of earth as the beginning and end of man, the universal origin to which humanity must be ever attuned. It is easy to lay a too mystical interpretation on Meredith's magnificent homage to earth the mother of man. His personification of her is his recognition of the example to man in the undeviating sanity of nature. The reckless waste and cruelty of nature does not disturb him. The grandeur of the life outside ourselves is for him its poised deliberation, its self-centred completeness, its universal grasp.

‘Never in woods
Runs white insanity fleeing itself: all sane
The woods revolve: as the tree its shadowing limns
To some resemblance in motion, the rooted life
Restrains disorder: you hear the primitive hymns
Of earth in woods issue wild of the web of strife.’

—(‘Melampus.’)

To this great example then let man conform himself, remembering ever that the intellectual and spiritual in him is drawn from earth as surely as the physical. The animality in man readily confesses its parentage; and the mistake of the ascetic, a mistake as abhorrent to the mind of Meredith as that of the sensualist, is to set up an antagonism between the material and the immaterial, to assert that one must be destroyed as base-born and the other enthroned as of diviner origin. Spirit is as sour and thin in divorce from the body as the body is gross and ugly in divorce from spirit. Body and spirit are divine by the same divinity; and the test of manhood is to think and act, above all else to love, with a just understanding of both. Through all Meredith’s ‘nature poems’ this theme is the under-current; its final expression is to be found in the grave and stately measure of ‘A Reading of Life.’

The same theme is touched at a different point by the ‘Hymn to Colour.’ Reason about it, test it, disprove it as we may, the spirituality of earthly things remains for the human mind an abiding fact. Language may lay hold of it and riddle it through and show that it has no true substance; and yet it is known to all of us at moments that something not to be netted by language survives and escapes. As magnetism transfuses dead metal, so in beauty there is an essence and an influence which eludes our closest definition of beauty itself. It is for this, the intangible aura which hangs round beauty, that poetry exists; and poetry can render it only by symbols and imagery. And so in the ‘Hymn to Colour’ it is pictured as the transient moment of dawn, seen through the eyes that are the most poignantly quickened to seize it, the eyes of Love:

‘Love eyed his rosy memories: he sang:
O bloom of dawn, breathed up from the gold sheaf

Held springing beneath Orient! that dost hang
The space of dewdrops running over leaf;
Thy fleetingness is bigger in the ghost
Than Time with all his host!

'Of thee to say behold, has said adieu:
But love remembers how the sky was green,
And how the grasses glimmered lightest blue;
How saint-like grey took fervour: how the screen
Of cloud grew violet; how thy moment came
Between a blush and flame.'

As colour in the world of nature, the shafts of rose and gold which bring day out of night, so is the spirit in man's life, the spirit without which life itself is dead. And love being the highest and widest and greatest of man's capacities, it is in love that the absence of the spirit is most a disaster and its presence an enchantment.

Finally, brushing through our modern tangle of doubts and hesitations, salting the labours of heart and brain, comes the health-giving force which Meredith invoked as the spirit of comedy. 'Sword of common sense,' he apostrophised it; he was never tired of insisting that the best of things are the better for liberal seasonings of laughter. He was no doubt, in the strict sense, an optimist, if we care, indeed, to use so exhausted a title; but the word as trivially used, to denote the temperament that slides lightly over sin and sorrow, denying the power of either, has no application for him. He perfectly saw that the simple central life which he upheld grows harder with the growth of the world, and that the duty of brain to carve a shapely existence out of our huge legacy of advancing knowledge and increasing bewilderment becomes the heavier as we drive, 'shell and spirit,' the further into the void. The more need therefore that brain itself should be purged and fortified by that power of laughter which reminds us that, though self-consciousness is our pride and our distinction, it is also our ineluctable curse. We have learnt to survey ourselves, and there is no fear that we shall not find the sight absorbing. But there is the fear that we may dwell on it with such loving interest as to forget how relative is our importance; and equally in these days there is the fear of obsession by the horrors of the spectacle, till we magnify out of all proportion the strange

disabilities which undermine our strength. Laughter purifies the air and corrects the dangerous refraction of our vision. Even in that sombre and difficult tragedy, to which Meredith gave the bitter name of 'Modern Love,' the irony that watches the death and burial of passion has the securely anchored sanity which we owe to the same great gift. And if it has virtue in tragedy, how much more certainly will it sweeten the beauty of hope and joy, where these have found their fulfilment. Its final and perfect effect is in the clear ring and flawless brilliance of 'Love in the valley.'

Such, in summary outline, was the work and temper of a high and many-sided genius. His death we may readily see as the close of a great period of literature. His long career started in the days when romance was still supreme in art, and romance, with all its powers and all its limitations, was the material in which he wrought. Art has put on since those days so new a panoply that an artist, as we now understand the word, Meredith undoubtedly was not. That there is much splendid art scattered through his books the preceding pages have tried to show; but the restraining hand, the deliberate design, the critical sense of perfection, these are not to be found. More comprehensive still, the single-minded attitude of the artist before his work, his unqualified homage to it and it alone—this too was wanting. Yet with the literature of the past before us we must admit that romance did in its eagerness plunge its fingers more generously into life than art nowadays seems to have the secret of doing. Meredith's profusion, his exuberance, his ever-shaping imagination, his pomp of poetry, survived into a generation to whom such qualities as these have all the heroic fascination of a past more spacious and more intensely coloured than the present. Those who are gone are always greater than those who remain—this we may recognise and concede. But in a more special sense we may realise that with Meredith died the last of his race. In art his aims are no longer ours, nor in life perhaps his creed; yet the further we may diverge from either, the more clearly we must perceive the strength and beauty which crowned so widely based and so living a work.

PERCY LUBBOCK.

Art. 10.—ORIENTAL ART.

1. *Painting in the Far East.* By Laurence Binyon. London: Arnold, 1908.
2. *Manuel d'Art Musulman.* By Gaston Migeon. Paris: Picard, 1907.
3. *Mediæval Sinhalese Art.* By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Printed in the Norman Chapel, Broad Campden, 1908.
4. *Indian Sculpture and Painting.* By E. B. Havell. London: Murray, 1908.

THOSE who concern themselves with art are apt to look with a kind of admiring envy on the man of science, to think of him as continually progressing to the conquest of new worlds, urged on by a breathless anticipation of ever new and more astonishing wonders. But if the artist feels discouraged and overshadowed by the great creations of the past, the critic and student of applied æsthetics is to-day held in almost the same breathless suspense as the man of science before the new worlds of art which recent research has revealed to his wondering gaze. To almost the same extent as the man of science he finds himself out of his bearings, bewildered and amazed at the multiplicity and strangeness of the new unassimilated material. For him too it is imperative to find a new orientation, to provide himself with new charts and new guiding principles. The specialist in any particular branch of art is usually spared this effort. For him the discovery of historical data, all the quasi-scientific apparatus and curiosity of the researcher, is sufficient guide and stimulus. He takes refuge in a happy prejudice which gives to his particular branch of art an indisputable pre-eminence in his own opinion. This is doubtless as it should be. Without some such fortunate illusion the work before him could never be accomplished. But the mere critic, the man who seeks, however fondly, to adjust the valuation of any and every artistic expression of the human spirit, who must for ever keep his mind and feelings alert for the acceptance of new æsthetic truth, may well feel a certain bewilderment at the vast mass of new æsthetic experience which lies open to him.

Especially is this true of the art of the East. Scarcely more than a hundred years ago art meant for a cultivated European, Graeco-Roman sculpture and the art of the high Renaissance, with the acceptance of a few Chinese lacquers and porcelains as curious decorative trifles. Then came the admission that Gothic art was not barbarous, that the Primitives must be reckoned with, and the discovery of early Greek art. The acceptance of Gothic and Byzantine art as great and noble expressions of human feeling, which was due in no small degree to Ruskin's teaching, made a breach in the well-arranged scheme of our æsthetics, a breach through which ever new claimants to our admiring recognition have poured.

When once we have admitted that the Graeco-Roman and high Renaissance views of art—and for our purposes we may conceive these as practically identical—are not the only right ones, we have admitted that artistic expression need not necessarily take effect through a scientifically complete representation of natural appearances, and the painting of China and Japan, the drawings of Persian potters and illuminators, the ivories, bronzes, and textiles of the early Mohammedan craftsmen, all claim a right to serious consideration. And now, finally, the claim is being brought forward on behalf of the sculptures of India, Java, and Ceylon. These claims have got to be faced; we can no longer hide behind the Elgin marbles and refuse to look; we have no longer any system of æsthetics which can rule out, *a priori*, even the most fantastic and unreal artistic forms. They must be judged in themselves and by their own standards.

To the European mind of to-day, saturated as it is with some centuries of representative art, there is always some initial difficulty in thus shifting the point of view to one in which likeness to natural appearances, as we understand them, can no longer be used as the chief criterion of value. The average amateur is apt to think, even before the masterpieces of primitive Italian art, before Giotto or Simone Martini, that these are very good considering the time when they were made, or at least, that they would be better if they conformed more to his own standards of representation. Such an idea implies always an imperfect grasp of the language of the early

artist, but it requires many years of study to eradicate altogether the underlying prejudice. To such a one the mere fact that the Japanese employ a different kind of perspective from ours, or as he would put it, 'do not draw in perspective,' makes it impossible to give full assent to the artist's idea. On the other hand, any one who has once thoroughly mastered the methods of artistic expression employed in Byzantine and early Gothic art (say before 1400) will find that he has little or no difficulty in entering into the modes of conception of Sino-Japanese painting.

The present writer once had the opportunity to test this essential community between the art of the East and early European art. He accompanied Mr Okakura, the subtle and ingenious Japanese critic, to various galleries in London, among others to the exhibition of illuminated manuscripts at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. Both there and elsewhere it was evident that the Japanese critic understood at once the meaning of an Anglo-Saxon drawing, and that he could without difficulty place it in its right relation with both earlier and later work. He understood the methods of expression, and he could appreciate exactly the changes in style that occurred in the course of centuries, but when once complete naturalistic presentment began in the fifteenth century he was altogether at a loss. Before a miniature by Simon Benink he stared with blank amazement and refused, with Oriental politeness, to express any opinion. He said that he was unfortunately unable to understand it. This of course did not mean that he failed to recognise the objects represented, but that he failed to see any artistic idea that lay behind that photographic vision.

The European mind has then been gradually prepared to accept the methods of Oriental design, and with that preparation has come an immense increase in its accessibility. In the last generation even enthusiasts like Whistler had to content themselves with blue and white porcelain of the seventeenth century, and a few Japanese prints of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But already the Berlin and British Museums contain a few masterpieces of Chinese and Japanese classic art, and the publication of the Kokka and of Tajima's 'Selected Masterpieces' have made possible for the first time some sort of

general understanding of the art of the Far East. Even so, however, it was possible only to a few to follow the development of the various schools, until Mr Binyon's book gave easy access at least to the general movements and conceptions of Chinese and Japanese painting.

Mr Binyon's writing, with its grave and sober eloquence, is admirably adapted to give an idea in words of the art of which he tells with such a deep sense of its poetical content. At least one great period of Chinese art, that of the Tang dynasty, has left nothing but a memory and some later copies; but even here Mr Binyon is able to hold the reader's interest by evoking vague and mysterious images of inaccessible splendours.

When, however, we come to the Sung period there is plenty of material at hand, though but few of the masterpieces have found their way to Europe. Mr Binyon well describes what must be the most surprising fact to any European who first sees, even in reproduction, a Sung landscape, namely, the extreme modernity of these painters. He shows how this note of modernity pervaded the whole South Chinese civilisation of the Sung period, and certainly the paintings show a passionate and disinterested contemplation of nature such as even our own art has never quite attained to. There is a picture by Ma Yuan of the moon rising amid piled-up cumulus clouds over a limitless expanse of storm-tossed waves, which gives a deeper, more poignant expression to all those feelings of wonder and awe at the infinity of nature than ever Turner did. There is a scene by a river in winter, by Ma Lin, which has more of the sense of mystery and romance than anything in Corot. To the contemplative spirit of the Chinese, even the slightest revelations of beauty in nature—a bird on a spray of magnolia, or a rose-mallow reflected in a stream—can become outlets for the spirit into the infinite background of phenomena. Thus it is that their flower-pieces have none of the triviality which seems to mar even the most brilliant European renderings of such subjects. But it is in the definitely religious art of artist's like Li-lung-mien that we realise the full range of Chinese art, its power to adumbrate, in forms of classic severity and precision, the strangest and most mystical intimations of spiritual existence.

With Japanese art we enter a very different world, if we except, as well we may, the vast mass of fifteenth and sixteenth century imitations of Sung originals, which, even when executed by a supreme virtuoso like Sesshiu, bear upon their faces the evidence of wilful stylistic artifice. Indeed throughout Japanese art we are constantly meeting evidences of a more capricious, eccentric, and self-conscious attitude than would have been tolerated by the essentially classic principles of the great Chinese masters.

The earliest painting of Japan reflects for us in all probability something of the lost grandeur of the Tang school in China; it is profoundly religious and grandiose, but gives little indication of the specific characteristics of Japanese feeling. These come out for the first time in the great Tosa school, the Yamato-ye or national school, as it was appropriately called. In Keion's long narrative scrolls we see a conception of art to which no parallel can be found in Chinese painting. They represent the violent scenes of civil strife out of which came the new feudalism. Nothing can be conceived more expressive than these of the turbulent vehemence of armed crowds, the agitation of a hundred arms and legs moving at the bidding of some infectious passion. In looking at these wonderful scenes, depicted with a line as agitated and alert as the gestures it describes, we are struck by the infallible power and the apparent ease with which Keion renders the most complex and momentary movements of the figure. How, one asks, was it possible at such a time, in the thirteenth century, with no long and slowly accumulated science behind him, such as a Goya or a Degas inherits—how was it possible for Keion to seize and render such effects? And in the answer to this we discover one of the curious paradoxes of Eastern art when compared to our own. Eastern art, and especially Japanese art, is far more visual than ours; the actual vision of appearances is clearer, more precise, more rapid, and above all, less distorted by intellectual preoccupations. It is more perceptual, less conceptual. The graphic arts would seem to result from a compromise and fusion of three elements, one the desire to symbolise concepts, one the desire to make records of appearances, and finally, modifying and controlling these, the love of

order and variety, the decorative instinct. In different races and at different periods the harmony of these elements results from their fusion in different proportions. Even with the utmost determination to do so, the artist cannot altogether suppress any of these elements of design. Certain impressionists have apparently made the attempt, have even formulated theories of a purely perceptual design, but, in so far as they were artists, the decorative, and, in so far as they were human beings, the conceptual, elements are bound to intervene.

But it may well seem paradoxical to state, as I have above, that Japanese art is more perceptual than European. How can you call that art perceptual, it might be objected, which is ignorant of the laws of perspective—the laws, that is, according to which all appearances must arrange themselves to our vision—which neglects altogether that large element of perception which is concerned with light and shade? Now it would not be possible to deny that a typical modern picture was much nearer to the actual retinal image than a painting by Keion; but we must remember that this is the result of a comparatively modern discovery, of a purely scientific nature, the discovery in the fifteenth century of the laws of perspective; this discovery has undoubtedly modified our habitual visual attention very strongly, but, up to the time when European science stumbled upon that discovery, it was possible to the European artist to take greater liberties with perspective than the Japanese ever did. The Japanese had a natural instinct for noting the general relations of objects in space, and, though he never developed this instinct in our scientific manner, he never went as far from visual appearance as the early artists of Europe. No doubt he imagined himself to see his figures from a height, and not, as we do, on the level of an ordinary spectator; but here he was guided by a sound instinct, for the normal low perspective horizon which we Europeans adopt is singularly unsuited to the purpose of narrative design, as any one who has tried to compose a scene with many figures will have found. He knows, for instance, with what perversity the main actors in the drama will hide behind the most trifling and insignificant details of the foreground, and how rapidly the effect of distance is felt upon figures which the imaginative

needs of the story would have large and prominent. The result is that European narrative composition can with difficulty escape from the composition of a rilievo, that is to say, it has to give up much of the imaginative effect due to space relations. It is here that the native Japanese recognition of the visual whole comes to the narrative artist's aid, and he displays his actors spread out upon the ground as seen from above; true, he does not give to his figures the full distortion which such a view would actually entail; he follows here the conceptual view, which demands that things shall be seen in their most familiar aspect; but, since his perspective is instinctive rather than scientific, he can effect this compromise without any shock to our feeling for unity.

The question of light and shade is more difficult to resolve. We must think of light and shade in two aspects, for which, unfortunately, we lack words. In the first place, light and shade may be regarded as the evidence upon an object of its plastic relief, of all those saliences and depressions which, being at right angles to the plane of vision, leave no record in the contour; this I will call light and shade simply.* Secondly, we may consider light and shade as existing already in the atmosphere, and liable to affect any object which moves in that lighted and shaded atmosphere according as it protrudes into a band of light or shadow. This I will call 'chiaroscuro.' Its effect is not primarily to reveal plastic form; on the contrary, such effects as I have in mind, such effects as, for instance, Rembrandt and Caravaggio loved, tend rather to obscure and obliterate all but a few elements of plastic form.

Now in European art light and shade was studied for its plastic revelations for centuries before the essentially visual idea of chiaroscuro was conceived, and its study was due to the constructional, architectonic, and non-visual attitude of European artists. To the more perceptual artists of the Far East light and shade appeared to belong to the realm of sculpture and not to painting, and hence they developed and completed their pictorial language without its aid. It is one of the many

* Such a treatment of light and shade for its plastic quality is to be found in almost all the Italian painters of the fifteenth century and, in its completed form, in the work of Michelangelo and Bronzino.

cases in which the Eastern artist has retained purity, unity, and completeness of expression at the cost, no doubt, of a loss of intensity and depth. The Chinese and Japanese artists then rejected light and shade as belonging primarily to the sculptor's art; they therefore never arrived, as the Europeans did, at the idea of *chiaroscuro*, though this in itself might not have been unsympathetic to their predominantly visual attitude. That this is so may indeed be surmised from the fact that, in certain broad effects of lighted and shaded atmosphere, effects of mist, of night, and of twilight, they have for six centuries shown the way which only quite modern European art has begun to follow.

From this digression let us return to the story of Eastern painting as unfolded by Mr Binyon.

In China the period of the Yuan dynasty adds many masterpieces, in which, however, the essentials of the great Sung period continue to dominate; but in the Ming dynasty, though there is no revolution in style, there is a marked change of attitude. There is noticeable a greater love of variety of detail, a greater minuteness and elegance, with a loss of that grandiose unity of effect which makes the Sung masterpieces pre-eminent in the whole history of Oriental art.

In Japan the painting of the Ashikaga period corresponds with that of our Renaissance, and, oddly enough, like the art of that time in Europe, it is based upon a more or less conscious revival of classic models, the classic fount being for Japan the art of China. We must, I think, however much we admire the astounding skill of a Sesson or Sesshiu, regret the loss of the turbulent and intense dramatic spirit of Keion and his contemporaries. Virtuosity, the besetting sin of the Japanese race, here reigns triumphant. Sotatsu stands out in this period as a great master of flower design; but it is, on the whole, a relief to pass to the less refined but more original splendour of decorative designers like Yeitoku.

But it is in Matabei that the purely national art of Japan rises to a height only equalled by Keion; and it is significant of the Japanese spirit that he is the great master of *genre* and the originator of the Ukiyoyé, that fertile school of designers to which we owe all the marvellous ingenuity of Japanese colour printing. No one

can look even at the reproduction given in Mr Binyon's book of a painting of a dancing girl without feeling the greatness and originality of Matabei, without recognising the spontaneity and force of the imaginative impulse which here realises so intensely the vital unity of rhythmic movement, and presents it in forms so austere and nobly restrained. The familiarity of the theme is no bar to the almost hieratic solemnity and grandeur of feeling with which Matabei invests it. And, on the purely decorative side, what amazing fertility and taste is here displayed! There is here the true power of the great pattern maker to get the utmost richness without loss of unity and by the use of the simplest means. And this is the more remarkable in that it is on the purely decorative side of their art, in their designs for textiles and pottery, that the worst failings of the Japanese are apparent, their frivolous delight in multiplicity, ingenuity, and virtuosity.

Of Matabei Mr Binyon writes with more than his usual eloquence. After explaining that Matabei had mastered the principles both of the old national Tosa school and of the Chinese revivalists, he adds :

'There is nothing in him of the tameness that so often attends the calculated attempt to blend a variety of qualities, such as we find in the Caracci. On the contrary, there is a sort of primitive fire in his painting. All his qualities are native to him; there is nothing taken on from outside. Nor was he tempted, as many leaders of revolt have been, into the violence of reaction from accepted type. There is the centred strength of balance in his art. . . . Nothing is more utterly Japanese in its beauty than the beauty discovered in life by Matabei. Perhaps these may seem extravagant words when we contemplate the artist's few extant works. But it is with him as it is with Giorgione; we feel him a power working in the life of art, perhaps even more in the production of others than in his own.'

Korin stands perhaps to the European as the most typical, as he is almost the most popular, of Japanese designers; but beside the noble dignity of Matabei his work appears marred by capricious individualism, by a desire to astonish and surprise that does not conduce to lasting admiration.

Of the later developments of Japanese art it is un-

necessary to speak, its real importance for us lies in the colour prints which have for long been the most familiar of all Eastern graphic designs. Mr Binyon discusses them with fine appreciation, though it is surprising that he omits Sharaku, who is, if not the greatest, at least the most classic and one of the most original of all, besides displaying the possibilities for this particular technique of colour in its rarest and most fascinating aspects.

Mr Binyon's conclusion is one which deserves the most thoughtful attention. In it he points the moral, for Western minds, of Eastern art as an outcome of Eastern life; of a life more ordered, more harmonious, a life that does not divorce so completely as ours its ideals from its practice.

'We fill a museum with fine works from divers countries, and place it in the midst of streets that desolate eye and heart, without an effort to make them part of the beauty we desire. Art is not an end in itself, but a means to beauty in life. This we forget.'

It is not a little strange that while in thought and religion India is the mother country of the Far East, we can treat Chinese and Japanese art as a whole by itself. References to Indian art there undoubtedly are, especially in certain phases of Japanese design, but on the whole the influence of India is surprisingly slight. It is most felt in outlying and provincial schools in Thibet, in Siam and Annam, but the great central Chinese tradition seems scarcely affected by it; motives borrowed from India become transformed at once by the powerful genius of the Chinese race.

To the European who, through British occupation of India, has had for so long the opportunity of familiarity with it, Indian art appears to present almost insuperable difficulties. It is at once stranger and more familiar than the art of China and Japan. More familiar in that it treats the human figure with a certain structural completeness which, whether it be an inheritance from Greek art or not, at least recalls the general European tradition. Stranger in that the religious symbolism of Brahmanism is often repellent to Western minds, incomparably more so than that adopted by the Buddhist art of China and Japan. We can understand without much difficulty the

significance of the seated figure of Buddha; the Kwannon or Goddess of Mercy is a welcome, almost a Christian conception, but we stand aghast before certain many-armed and many-headed figures in which the ideas of Siva or Vishnu are externalised. But one may doubt whether this in itself would keep us at bay. It is rather the curious incoherence—for to us it appears such—of Indian sculpture, its want of any large co-ordination, of any sense of relative scale. In its choice of relief and of the scale of ornament it appears without any principle. It is like a rococo style deprived of the lightness and elegance which alone make that style tolerable. Such a treatment implies for our minds a fundamental conflict between the motive and its expression; for these heavily ornate reliefs—one cannot but have in mind the Amaravati sculptures of the British Museum—are intended apparently to convey notions of grave religious import, and such ideas are for us inevitably connected with a certain type of line, with a certain austerity in the treatment of design, with large unperturbed surfaces or great and clearly united sequences of plane.

This is not written in any way as an answer to Mr Havell's well-intentioned denunciation of the British official attitude to native Indian art. All that he avers may be true; it is merely an endeavour to state the real difficulties of approach to an understanding of Indian art, difficulties which, as we have seen, are not met with before Sino-Japanese art, or even before Egyptian art, where the symbolism of divinity is at least as strange and as likely to shock us as that employed by the Indians. Nor is it said as a condemnation of the whole of Indian figurative art. There are reproduced in Mr Havell's book many sculptures which must appeal deeply to any unbiassed and sensitive European.

The free and picturesque composition from Ellora, representing 'Ravana under the mountain of Kailâsa,' complicated though it is, is held together by the dramatic beauty of movement of the figures of Siva and Parvati. The same dramatic vitality is apparent in the struggle between Narisinha and Hiranya-Kasipu, also from Ellora. Indeed all the Ellora and Elephanta sculptures here reproduced appeal to the European eye by a relatively greater observance of the laws of co-ordination, and by

an evidence of dramatic force which indicates that Indian art did not always convey its meaning in a strange tongue. The same is true, in an even greater degree, of the superb colossal figure of a war-horse led by a striding soldier from Kanârak in Orissa. This has indeed, in the highest degree, the qualities of great monumental design, and one may sympathise fully with Mr Havell when he says of it that it not only shows

'the versatility of Indian sculptors in the past, but points to one of the many potential opportunities which might be opened to their descendants in the present day if Anglo-Indians, who persist in treating them as ignorant children, possessed the capacity of the Mogul craftsman for understanding and utilising the extraordinary artistic resources of the land in which they live. For certainly, among all the commonplace statues of British Viceroy and Generals by European artists set up on the *maidans* of Calcutta and Bombay, there is not one to be placed in the same category as this.'

But it is rather outside of India proper that, if we may judge from Mr Havell's work, we must look for those aspects of Indian sculpture which are most likely to appeal to European taste. The great statues at Anuradhapara in Ceylon, and the reliefs at Bôrôbudûr in Java, have noble qualities of style. In the Bôrôbudûr reliefs the eye can rest upon straight lines, upon untroubled spaces of flat stone, upon mouldings of classic simplicity; the bands of ornament, intricate and elaborate as they are, are held in place by the nice choice of relief, being low and unaccented, in opposition to the deep cutting and full modelling of the panels they surround. And in these panels, in spite of the full roundness of the modelling and the wealth of ornamental detail, the unity is maintained by a fine sense of rhythm and discreet massing and spacing.

Doubtless Mr Havell is justified in maintaining that by this time all trace of Greek influence has departed from Indian art; certainly no one would be disposed to deny the immense superiority of these reliefs to the derivative art of Gandhara; but it is odd that the particular balance between realism and large suavity of decorative rhythm here attained, comes nearer to certain Greek reliefs than to anything else, though in their over-ripe

sweetness and richness of effect one would compare them with neo-Attic rather than with Pheidian examples.

Of Indian painting it is almost impossible for us to form at present any idea. The great examples for all the earlier centuries (100 B.C.-700 A.D.) are the frescoes in the caves of Ajanta, and until these are adequately reproduced we can form no judgment. The reproduction given by Mr Havell is too fragmentary. On the other hand, the reproductions of frescoes from Sigirya in Ceylon have singular beauty and make one wish that further study of these should be undertaken. They have a strange and disquieting charm, at once noble and perverse, as of some one who should combine the arts of Fra Angelico and Felicien Rops. For the later periods of Indian painting it is impossible to share Mr Havell's enthusiasm; the Thibetan art which he includes is essentially provincial Chinese, and the Mogul art is debased Persian. To any one who has once familiarised his eye with Persian originals these can make but a feeble appeal. Nor does he strengthen his case by including the efforts of certain modern artists. Such pictures as that of the 'Siddhas of the Upper Air' show that, however anxiously these artists strive to adopt the formulæ of their ancestors, the spirit that comes to expression is that of the American magazine illustrator. Nothing indeed could provide a stronger proof of the profound corruption which contact with European ideas has created in Oriental taste than these well-intentioned but regrettable drawings. Mr Havell has done a much-needed work in putting before English readers the serious claims of Indian art; the fact that he puts them in a rather needlessly provocative manner may perhaps delay their acceptance, but such righteous indignation is doubtless excusable in one who has watched close at hand the substitution of European commercial products for those of an ancient and respectable craftsmanship.

It is entirely from this point of view indeed that Mr Coomaraswamy's book is conceived. Himself a Cingalese (or, as he no doubt correctly calls it, Sinhalese), he writes in a far more restrained tone than Mr Havell, but his criticism of English influence on Sinhalese art is quite as severe. For he is not concerned with the history of the great masterpieces; his work is almost as much

sociological as æsthetic; he seeks to investigate and explain the methods of Sinhalese craftsmen, to fix the outlines of an artistic industry and education before it finally disappears. The interest of such an attempt is great, for the tradition of craftsmanship which survived in full force until the English occupation, and vestiges of which still linger in remoter districts, was closely akin to that which obtained in Europe in the Middle Ages.

We ourselves, ever more and more disgusted with the effects upon art and life of machinery under commercial competition, have, since Ruskin pointed the way, turned with eager curiosity to the study of medieval craftsmanship and organisation of labour. In this direction Mr Coomaraswamy's record is likely to be of great value, for although, as he himself admits, the works which he discusses are not masterpieces, are in fact the ordinary utensils of daily life, still they bear upon them the stamp of individual care and sound craftsmanship.

We have so far left out of account the art of Persia. To this Mr Binyon devotes a brief chapter. No doubt the time has not yet come to write a history of Persian art, or to trace all the influences from China, from Syria, and from Egypt which were brought to bear on the earlier Sassanian tradition. Mr Binyon, no doubt, rightly remarks on the Chinese influence, though he underestimates, I think, the indigenous tradition and speaks of the conquests of Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane as a quickening influence. Now perhaps the finest pottery and some of the noblest draughtsmanship and design which we know at all was produced at Rakka and Rhages before the Mongol conquests. Indeed that particular art was brought to an end by the devastations they caused. Mr Binyon seems scarcely to give sufficient weight to this essentially Persian tradition—a tradition of drawing unsurpassed in certain respects even by the finest Chinese art. Nor was figure art confined to the decoration of this marvellous lusted pottery. In the *Bibliothèque Nationale* there is an illuminated manuscript dating from the early part of the thirteenth century in which the same great and purely indigenous figure drawing is seen; moreover, we know that the Fatimite rulers of Egypt had the walls of their palaces covered with frescoes in which, judging from the descriptions which

have survived, the human figure was represented on a large scale. Finally, the discoveries at Kosseir-Amra, published by MM. Riegl and Karabacek, show that as early as 860 the artists of the Nearer East were able to cover the whole interior of a building with frescoes. All this points to the existence of a great artistic tradition in early Mohammedan times extending from Egypt to Persia. But for the real history of this great efflorescence of Mohammedan culture we must await the results of researches such as those carried on by Dr Martin. No doubt Chinese influence may have come in earlier—and certain pieces of pottery of the Yuan dynasty which have lately come to Europe point to this conclusion; but the great period of Chinese influence in Persia was the sixteenth century, when already Persian design was over-ripe. Almost everything that survives of Persian art of the thirteenth century shows such impeccable taste, the drawing has such nobility and freedom, the decoration is so largely conceived, that it is difficult, after seeing specimens of this period, to tolerate the sixteenth and seventeenth century work which once stood as typically representative of Persian art.

What will be the effect upon Western art of the amazing revelations of these last twenty years? One can scarcely doubt that it will be almost wholly good. When once the cultivated public has grown accustomed to the restraint, the economy of means, the exquisite perfection of quality, of the masterpieces of Eastern art, it will, one may hope, refuse to have anything more to say to the vast mass of modern Western painting. And then, perhaps, our artists will develop a new conscience, will throw over all the cumbrous machinery of merely curious representation, and will seek to portray only the essential elements of things. In thus purifying pictorial art, in freeing it from all that has not immediately expressive power, Western artists will be merely returning to their own long forgotten tradition. The greatest practical value of Eastern art for us lies in the fact that those essential principles which, in our thirst for verisimilitude, we have overlaid, have been upheld with far greater constancy by the artists of the East.

ROGER FRY.

Art. 11.—BEFORE AND AFTER THE DESCENT FROM ELBA.

1. *Le Revirement de la Politique Autrichienne*. Négociations secrètes, Novembre 1814–Mars 1815. By Commandant Weil. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1908.
2. *Letters from originals at Welbeck Abbey*. Roxburghe Club, 1909. (Appendix 1B is a sketch of Lord William Bentinck's Life, by Mr Richard W. Goulding.)
3. *MSS. in possession of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey*.
4. *Unpublished Letters from Paris of March 1815, from Sir Charles Bagot to Mr Hammond*, in the possession of the Honourable Misses Hammond.
5. *Public Record Office. Admiralty*: (Letters of admirals.) Vols 429 (Mediterranean, 1814), 430 (Mediterranean, 1815). *War Office*: Vols 283 (Secretary of State, Letters), 284 (Army in Mediterranean, Lieut-General Lord William Bentinck, 1815), 315 (Sicily, 1814). *Foreign Office*: Vols 9 (Congress of Vienna. Drafts to Ministers and Consuls), 21 (Tuscany), 6 and 62 (Italian States), 71, and Bundles (Sicily), 111 and 114 (France), 142 (Miscellaneous), and 299 (Précis). *Foreign Office Archives* (1815), Portfolio 129, 130, 131.
6. *La Rivoluzione Lombarda del 1814 e la Politica Inglese*. Secondo nuovi documenti. By Giuseppe Gallavresi. Milan: Archivio Storico Lombardo, 1909.
7. *Joachim Murat. La Dernière Année de Règne*, Mai 1814–Mai 1815. Vols i, ii, iii, and iv. By Commandant Weil. Paris: Fontemoing, 1909, 1910.
8. *Lettres et Documents, Joachim Murat*. By Prince Murat. Vols ii and iii. Edited by M. Paul Le Brethon. Paris: Plon, 1909.
9. *Report, Historical Manuscripts Commission, on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq.*, preserved at Dropmore. Vol. vi, 1908.
10. *Lettres et Papiers du Chancelier Comte de Nesselrode*. Vol. v. Paris: Lahure, 1907.

THE revelations, in and since 1908, of secrets of the years between 1800 and 1815, as well as recent publications upon the period between Waterloo and the foundation of the new German Empire, present features of

extraordinary interest. Documents of 1814 and 1815 upset our history, as do three letters of the autumn of 1870 contained in 'The Bernstorff Papers.' The archives of the Austrian political police, and of Piedmont, are yielding rich material to the historian. Our own are still subject to a reservation concerning our secret agents, from which records in private hands are free. Already, in 1905, Mr Walter Fitzpatrick's painstaking work at Dropmore had produced, in the fourth volume of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on Lord Grenville's papers, letters from Stanforth* calculated to set that mysterious figure even higher than it had appeared in the previous volume. The sixth volume, published in 1908, shows Grenville—who controlled for Pitt, in 1800, our relations with the Continent—despising Austria, presenting to the Minister a suggestion of alliance with Bonaparte, made by another of our secret agents, and adding argument in conflict with the avowed policy on which history has been based.

It is the bearing of the new documents of 1814-15 upon the relations of the Allies with the Bourbons, and upon the descent from Elba, that concerns us most. Popular beliefs, based as they are on the Wellington despatches, the Castlereagh correspondence, and the State papers, will be shaken by complete publication of records as yet but little known and not, up to this moment, fully searched.

Mr Fitzpatrick, in his introduction to the Dropmore volumes, says that Lord Grenville's letters would 'obviously have furnished valuable material' to historians, but were 'unknown' until Mr Fortescue allowed their use. The connexion of Fouché with the British Cabinet was, indeed, suspected here, as was in France our financing of conspiracies against Bonaparte. The price of Barras and of Montgelas was newer and forms interesting scandal. Still newer is the evidence as to the part played on our side by the sister of Queen Louise of Prussia, and the reports of our representative at Berlin, replacing the

* 'Stamfort' in the indexes. George III writes 'General Stamford.' The Governor of the Princes of Brunswick and agent of the Prince of Orange made use of the French tongue, and signed 'Comte de Stanforth.' He is divided into two German poets, both 'Stanforth,' though with different initials, in German works of reference.

supposed popularity of 'the patriot Queen' by 'universal animadversion.' The contempt of George III for our 'immoral and unjustifiable acts,' and his scorn of our 'Italian politics,' may enhance the reputation of that King. More momentous are doubts raised by records named at the head of this article. They cannot but modify all previous views of British policy towards Austria and the Bourbons in 1814 and in the four or five earliest months of 1815.

As the foreign records became known, the incompleteness of our knowledge had lain chiefly in the non-publication of the private papers of Lord William Bentinck. The selection made from his despatches by those who were engaged in replying to them or in explaining them away, affords a partial and a misleading view. Commandant Weil has recently ransacked all public, and some Italian private, archives for the secrets of Elba, and for Napoleon's relations with Murat. Until the appearance of Dr Gallavresi's examination of British connexion with the conspiracy of Mantua, the Bentinck papers may be said to have been unknown. The courtesy extended to that gentleman in his special research by the Duke of Portland, and continued to myself without reserve, as well as the kindness with which Mr Goulding, the librarian at Welbeck Abbey, has helped me, allow full use of Bentinck's letters in the preparation of this article. These will, it is to be hoped, be pieced by patient workers into their place in the mosaic formed by the police records at Vienna, the Admiralty, War Office, and Foreign Office papers in Chancery Lane, and the other stores on which Commandant Weil is working.

The time has come for publication such as cannot but be honourable to the memory of Bentinck. In his case publicity is demanded by mere justice. It is impossible any longer to believe the common story of the compilers of biographies, if indeed Bentinck's life can be said to have been written. Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot did his best in the Dictionary of National Biography, but a reference to the Journal at Welbeck Abbey or even to portfolios of Drafts and Précis now in the keeping of Mr Hubert Hall at the Record Office, would suffice to correct the Dictionary in this wholly exceptional failure. An inaccurate sketch of Bentinck's career—supplemented

in other quarters only by accounts of his policy as Governor-General in India—ends with an assertion that the papers of Lord William Bentinck were brought together with a view to the writing of a Life, but have 'disappeared.' Some secret papers of 1814 have 'disappeared,' but enough are safely stored at Welbeck, and in Italy, to permit of an attempt to set in their true light the public services rendered by Castlereagh's chief representative in the Mediterranean. It bears closely upon the descent from Elba and upon the birth of Italy.

An article in the 'Nineteenth Century,' in 1898, told 'The story of Murat and Bentinck' as it then appeared to stand. The case against Bentinck is met by Lord Aberdeen's despatch, which justifies him in his instructions to Mr (afterwards Sir James) Graham, and in his own action. 'Lord Castlereagh has desired me to convey his full approbation for the whole course you have pursued relative to the transactions with Murat.' But the essayist declares that Bentinck was proved, later in 1814, to be 'congenitally unfitted for posts of high responsibility.' 'Bentinck resigned his post, and so passes from our history'—our history of the time, no doubt, though even his long tenure of the most responsible of posts is belittled. Macaulay may have been right or wrong in his judgment passed on Bentinck as an Indian ruler. It is contained in words quoted by Sir George Trevelyan, from the essay on Clive, as applied to 'that singularly noble character,' Bentinck. No one now doubts the truth of Macaulay's letters describing Bentinck as 'rectitude, openness, and good nature personified'; 'the frankest and best-natured of men.'

The story of 1814 as last told, by Commandant Weil, runs thus. Bentinck was our Minister at Palermo, the Court of Ferdinand, who claimed the 'Two Sicilies'—one of them in the hands of 'the Usurper,' Murat. He was also Commander-in-chief of the British land forces in the Mediterranean, and Captain-general of the Sicilian army. Up to January 1814 his policy, fully explained by him to Castlereagh, received hearty support from home. Having been sent to Sicily as plenipotentiary by a previous administration, he had asked, on the change of Government, to be allowed to resign his 'diplomatic' post, according to the practice of the day, and to pursue

a purely military career. Castlereagh had induced him to continue to perform his multifarious duties. When not leading, as their General, the Anglo-Sicilian forces in Spain or Italy, Lord William was managing our Italian policy. If he left Palermo, one of the many soldiers and diplomatists who were under his orders reported to him, and generally through him to the Government at home. His subordinates and his agents were of different kinds. Douglas became for a time a personal friend of the Sicilian Bourbons, and wrote of Napoleon as 'a monster' whose 'death' was to be prayed for; Lieut-General Robert Macfarlane and Milnes the A.D.C. were devoted to the inspiring personality of their chief. Amongst others, including some peers on their travels, a greater Milnes, Lord Houghton's father—who had just refused the Secretaryship at War and the Exchequer—was pressed into the service.

The most compromising of Bentinck's men was Fagan, of whom we have been told that he exaggerated the errors of his chief, and was crushed like an insect by the Foreign Office. But the truth is that our consul at Palermo was also our official agent at Rome and Naples. He was Consul-general in Sicily, and also, in 1814, at Naples, the capital of 'Marshal Murat,' with whom we had made peace, refusing recognition. The Austrian police reported Fagan's actions as those of an ambassador having daily interviews with the brother-in-law of Napoleon at a time when communication between Naples and Elba was continuous. British Ministers expressed their horror of Fagan in Cabinet letters long since published to the world. Nevertheless Fagan was not 'dismissed'; and continued to be well paid until his death at Rome in 1816, duly reported to the Foreign Office by his subordinate in our consulate. Neither did we cease to pay him, by Castlereagh's own decision, a special income of 200*l.* a year, additional to his salary and expenses. It had been necessary in 1814 that at Rome he should be only the portrait painter to the Pope, in spite of our official use of his reports upon his interviews with the papal secretary; it was also necessary that his presentation to Murat should be as 'Mr Fagan,' and 'not as Consul.' No notice was ever taken of a discovery recorded in the Castlereagh Corre-

spondence, that, as a Roman Catholic, Fagan could not 'hold the office,' to which, however, his religion had been one of his claims, as stated by his patrons, Lord Amherst and Mr Baker, M.P., of Bayfordbury. The descendant of the latter, Mr Clinton Baker of Bayfordbury, has most kindly helped to fill the gaps in a study of Fagan's life required by this review.

No language could be more stern than that made use of by Burghersh, and by Bathurst about the 'mischief-makers and busybodies' whose proceedings terrified the Austrian police. Against Fagan, against Bentinck through Fagan, and against Castlereagh through Bentinck, the police case was at its strongest. Fagan accepted censure from all sides, and has thus misled historians.

When À Court, on taking Bentinck's place as Minister at Palermo, discovered activities of which he had not been warned on account of the delicacy of the subject, he at once complained of Fagan's conduct; but the answer which he received from Castlereagh shows that there was more in Fagan's position than met the eye. All the strong language of complaint has seen the light, but it is well to study the actual words of Castlereagh's real reply. It is not the 'ostensible' reply of the same date printed in the Castlereagh Correspondence. Dating from Vienna, October 2, the Minister passed over the public despatches of À Court, and the official answers made to them by Bathurst. Castlereagh wrote, in his own hand, that he had 'received your private letter in regard to the conduct of Mr Fagan, which, according to your manner of stating it, seems highly reprehensible.' Finding that À Court had recalled Fagan 'to his Sicilian duties,' Castlereagh confirmed that decision, which, however, was not acted upon by its author; and mysteriously told À Court that he might 'enjoin him not to meddle in political affairs but in strict pursuance to your instructions.' Fagan had 'meddled in political affairs' in Italy, 'in strict pursuance to instructions,' and with Castlereagh's approval. Government acted upon the information as to papal policy and Neapolitan war preparations conveyed in Fagan's memoranda long after the severe 'censure' and supposed dismissal.

Bentinck also was brought home 'to explain,' while some writers have not hesitated to describe as 'dismissal'

the 'six months' leave' given to him in 1814. But he spent only two months in England, during which he actively discharged the duties of his greatest post. There followed a more direct representation of Castlereagh in Italy, at the most critical moment of 1815, than Bentinck had known in his previous career at Palermo, or at Genoa after his capture of that fortress in 1814. As our principal agent in Italian affairs, Bentinck represented one of the two strings to Castlereagh's bow, but Murat's attack on Austria in 1815, and the last resolve of the Emperor Alexander's tortuous mind, forced a final decision fatal to Bentinck's Italian policy, and made the complaints of Austria against his language so hard to meet as to account for his non-employment after May 1815.

The original despatch of Bentinck to the Mediterranean had been explained, in the State Papers of 1811, by orders directing him 'to rescue Italy,' and commanding the formation of an army of men of Italian race for operations on 'the continent of Italy.' His instructions—anti-Austrian in tone until late in 1813—had been modified by Lord Liverpool at the end of that year. But even in December 1813, a despatch directing him to keep Tuscany outside his encouragement of Italian nationality was still, on the whole, hostile to Austria. When, however, the Emperor Alexander's schemes forced our Cabinet to act with Metternich, Bentinck's proclamations of the spring of 1814 were laid before Parliament, and formed the case against him in the debates of 1815 on Murat, Elba, and renewed war with France.

It was in pursuance of a wise and necessary policy, well understood by Castlereagh, that Bentinck, struggling against the French, encouraged the earliest representatives of the patriotism of Italian nationality. Napoleon's Viceroy of Italy, Eugène Beauharnais, contending against both Austria and Murat, had represented at Milan the Italian dream in concrete form. Murat, in turning against his fellow-countrymen of France, had parodied the Viceroy's language. Bentinck, who despised the Bourbons, detested Murat, and was prepared to fight to his last breath against the French, was from the first a defender of the idea of Italian independence. Italian unity he would have preferred—union of an Italy, as he explained, owing her national life to England. During

the campaign of France, promises were made to Murat, to the Pope, to the King of Sardinia (Victor Emmanuel), and half promises with regard to Tuscany and other Duchies. But Bentinck had led to Genoa an 'Anglo-Sicilian army,' supported by our 'Italian levies.' He clung to the idea of a nucleus for an Italy of the future, likely to survive Murat, and, holding Milan and Genoa, to come to terms with the crown of Piedmont and Sardinia. Bentinck and Colonel Sir Robert Wilson anticipated 1859, 1866, and 1870. Both prophesied the steps by which Italian unity would be obtained. They differed about the Pope, and their difference forms the subject of many unpublished letters.

Bentinck's proclamations to the Italians had roused the fierce hostility of Austria. His renewed application to the War Office and Foreign Office for six month's leave in case of peace, and after he should have visited Sicily to nurse our Sicilian Parliament at its next meeting, was the more readily granted by the Cabinet on account of violent language applied to our policy on the 30th March, 1814, by Metternich at Dijon. The Burgundian capital was the haven in which the allied Sovereigns and Ministers had taken refuge from the desperate efforts of Napoleon. The change in Castlereagh's attitude is illustrated by the fact that, on March 30, Bentinck had received instructions to withdraw opposition to Murat's entering or claiming Tuscany. But even Castlereagh's instructions of April 3 from Dijon, in one of the seven different communications to Bentinck signed by him on that day, were far from friendly to the Bourbons; and Metternich's own despatches, of the same date, from the same French city, show that the Austrian policy in this respect was still unsettled.

Comparison of the new documents with the old confirms the simultaneous existence of two British policies, and suggests that Castlereagh inclined towards that of Bentinck. Castlereagh had little confidence in the 'legitimate Sovereigns' of France, Spain, and Italy. He repeatedly used language pointing not only to our insistence on constitutional rule in Italy, but to his own desire, 'as far as possible,' to retain the liberties of Genoa and of all territories likely to be conferred in Europe upon 'new proprietors.' Bentinck and Macfar-

lane were able honestly to concur in modifications of policy under Austrian pressure. With Sir Robert Wilson it was otherwise. He writes to Bentinck that he felt ashamed (when the conclusion of the Peace left Milan open to the Austrians) 'of my trappings of a feigned satisfaction.' Wilson was a prophet. We know from a diary, published by the house of Murray in 1861, that in May 1814, when taking in his hand the Iron Crown, at Monza, he 'returned it with the conviction that it would yet encircle the brows of independent sovereigns.' From Paris Wilson wrote of Napoleon: 'Where he may find his tomb is a question that will suspend interest until it is resolved by time.' An entry in his Journal, which immediately precedes the date 'June 17th,' foretold Quatre Bras and Waterloo: 'I shall be surprised if the cannon does not rattle through Europe again before there is an anniversary of the Peace.'

Under Austrian suspicion, Bentinck became a compromising agent. It was soon known that Castlereagh had written to a Cabinet colleague of his 'impracticability and Whiggism.' Colonel Charles À Court, brother to Bentinck's successor as Minister at Palermo, writes to Lady William that a letter of her husband 'has made an unfavourable impression at home'; his Italian acts are 'not altogether considered as satisfactory.' Yet we now learn that Bentinck's policy at Milan was in the later autumn of '14 expressly adopted—for a time—by Castlereagh.

We had, perhaps, a desire to hold Sicily for ourselves, and to secure a pro-British Italy. Macfarlane writes from Milan:

'There are reports current that the Duke of Cambridge is likely to be King of Italy. If England wishes it he may be so immediately. . . . The Emperor of Russia would no doubt be delighted to see his sister on the throne of so fine a Kingdom. The Italians, your lordship may rest assured, would receive a British Prince unanimously. I am now acquainted with the sentiments of all, and I am convinced England has only to say what she wishes.'

Several letters to Bentinck from the Government show that the anxiety of Castlereagh was to smooth the surface. He explains that À Court is to carry out the same policy at Palermo. The less secret of Castlereagh's many letters

of May 6 and 7 had been meant for Austria, and for the Duke of Wellington.

Murat, at this moment, illustrated Bentinck's opinion of his treacherous nature by revealing to Austria Castlereagh's suggestions (as to a constitution) made to him through Bentinck. This Murat did to curry favour with Austria. On the same day the Austrian Minister at Naples informed his Government that it was indispensable that England should dismiss this 'General . . . that turbulent person.' So the head of the Austrian police reported from Milan: 'Bentinck is the Messiah . . . to re-establish the kingdom of God in Italy.' 'Macfarlane and Wilson,' at Milan, the Report to the Emperor at Vienna set forth, 'had encouraged "The Independents" by promises, and "subsidies."' Even Victor Emmanuel complained to Bentinck that if Austria took Milan for herself 'Italy will find herself more crushed and humiliated than ever.' But, as Douglas wrote to Bentinck from Palermo on May 14, 'The Monster still lives.' He was indeed singularly active at his temporary home in Elba, and known to be adding to his picked troops.

Bentinck, throughout the whole period under consideration, repeatedly stated to Government his opinion against the choice of Elba for the residence of Napoleon. A letter from Sir Charles Stewart of April 7, in the Castlereagh Correspondence, had already shown how the Cabinet was warned that Bonaparte, from his future home in Elba, would exercise his power over Italy. It would 'sooner be united under his sceptre' than divided by 'the Allies.' The suggested offer of Elba had come, we knew, from Alexander, who wished to keep the door open to all dangers.

Passing through Paris, Macfarlane defended Bentinck to Castlereagh with enthusiasm. Tacit acquiescence 'in Austria taking possession of six millions of people and a revenue of as many pounds sterling,' when we could stop it by holding up our finger, would have been a betrayal of the duty of British generals. Castlereagh replied that British 'generals should interfere as little as possible in the Politicks of the Countries in which they are acting.' But Bentinck was to return with undiminished powers, and to exercise, as the representative of Castlereagh, control in essential matters over the acts of 'all British

diplomatic agents and commanders of British forces in the Mediterranean.'

There are indeed letters which, more than the despatches, show that the Cabinet were guarding themselves against attack should they be forced by stress of circumstances into complete adoption of the Austrian policy. 'Conditions' are supposed to have been made with Bentinck, to the effect that his return 'to Italy,' deprecated by one Minister, was to be surreptitious. Bathurst went so far as to suggest, through Burghersh at Florence, that Bentinck had violated these implied 'conditions.' Even without quoting the new documents, it may be pointed out that Bentinck had never ceased to act while in London, and with the full knowledge of the War Office, and of Castlereagh, as Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He was 'approved' for all such action, taken after September 1814 up to May 1815, by Castlereagh himself.

Throughout June Pauline was bearing communications between Napoleon and Murat. Fagan was at Rome reporting to the British Government. In July it became clear that our Italian regiments at Milan would desert in a body rather than serve Austria. To Fagan, 'his Eminence' Cardinal Pacca, complained that most of the emissaries from various discontented parties were sailing 'under our flag to Elba . . . and it is rumoured that Napoleon was united with Murat in some operation daily expected.' The union of Bonaparte and Murat was conditional on the result of the Congress of Vienna. The Italians, 'well received by the Emperor,' had 'been given such promises as to remain perfectly satisfied, having hopes that in a little time public affairs will be changed according to their desires.'

Louis Philippe had reported to his father-in-law, King Ferdinand, conversations in London on June 18 with Liverpool, and with Castlereagh on the 20th and 22nd. In other reports of the same conversations the Duke of Orleans had revealed our desire to offer Murat territorial compensation should he renounce the crown of Naples.

It has been supposed that Bentinck, replaced in Sicily, was but nominally retaining his great military command. His Journal, first identified by Mr Goulding when this article was commenced, reveals the truth. At Palermo,

on July 14 and 15, the Duke of Orleans, for whose return Bentinck had been told to wait, related the story of his mission in different terms from those of the despatches at the Record Office. Commandant Weil first printed a few months ago, another version of the tale. That Bentinck faithfully sets out what Louis Philippe told him of his conversations with Louis XVIII, with the Prince Regent, and with our Ministers, there can be no doubt. That Orleans told the truth, in any of his versions, is less certain; but he would not have been so anxious to impress his views upon a man whom he believed to be discredited in the eyes of his own Government. And Bentinck's Journal seems to make the real Louis Philippe speak. Commandant Weil has identified, as being throughout in Louis Philippe's own hand, the 'copy' of his formal report, sent home by a Court under curious circumstances related in his despatch. Bentinck had also forwarded an early copy of the original, and, again, a different account from a royal Sicilian source.

Louis Philippe's cunning was never more brilliantly displayed. He was representing two different causes—legitimacy at Paris, where he concurred in the desire of Louis XVIII to restore continental 'Sicily' to his father-in-law, Ferdinand of the Great Nose; and constitutional parliamentarism in London. He was also thinking of himself. He had seen the Emperor of Russia frequently and told Bentinck that 'the Emperor was a complete Jacobin.' When Orleans talked to Metternich about Italy, he had found the representative of Austria unprepared to admit that the expulsion of Murat was in the least 'settled.' The Duke anticipated 1830 and his own 'Monarchy of July.' He was inclined to put forward its probable date to that which became the time of the Hundred Days and Waterloo. 'He said the army of France was not well disposed.' Louis XVIII had made mistakes. The Duke mentioned, suggestively, the fact that 'none of the royal family but himself had worn the French uniform of the present day.'

It is clear that the most clever of observers, returning directly from his repeated interviews with all the leading men of Europe, did not share the opinion of historians, that the orders addressed under Austrian pressure to Bentinck by Castlereagh on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and

7th April had 'weakened Bentinck's influence and credit beyond repair and compromised and shaken his situation.'

It is startling to read, along with Bentinck's Journal, the letters of Orleans, published by Commandant Weil. The opinion of Alexander I is obviously misrepresented in the written communications. In the despatch to King Ferdinand, Liverpool is made to say that 'unhappily Lord William Bentinck had gone too fast with Murat and had given him grounds for complaint,' to which Orleans had replied that Bentinck agreed with him, against Liverpool, that King Ferdinand had a strong party in Naples. Bentinck's Journal forms a necessary corrective of all previous accounts of the Orleans mission, even of Bentinck's to Castlereagh, written, from documents and from hearsay, long before he saw Orleans on the 14th July.

The morning following his second day's conversation with Orleans, Bentinck left Palermo. We find, by the entries in a shorter diary, that he landed at Dover on the 13th August. After 'attending . . . to private affairs' and paying his respects to the Queen, he had repeated interviews with Bathurst. Leaving London on the 14th October, he returned to his post of Commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Mediterranean. The discharge of the duties he had not, for more than a few days, intermitted. In November he was hard at work again at Turin, reporting upon Italian affairs. The Cabinet had been cold towards him, but he had the satisfaction of knowing that Castlereagh had continued his policy, kept open the Italian settlement and admitted that the Allies at present agreed only in shutting out the Bourbons from the Italian peninsula. Turning to the Austrian police records, now made known, we find that the most terrible of Bentinck's crimes continued to be the carrying of an Italian flag by one of his Italian regiments. The whole character of the force was discussed with Bunbury at the War Office, and Lord William's arrangements were adopted and approved. The flag was that which now links Italy to the Princes of Savoy.

The Austrian Commander-in-chief, writing from Milan in September, had described to Metternich the

position of the movement in favour of Italian independence, of which 'the heart and centre is formed by Genoa under the protection of the English.' Other Italian patriots, divided as yet from these, were 'those . . . who surround the King of Naples.' Marshal Bellegarde doubted whether it should be 'feared that the English might reunite to the party of Murat that which they sustain and nourish.' Bentinck had formed and kept alive the party of independence, and there was no doubt as to Bentinck's animosity towards Murat. Bellegarde added that the effort of Italy 'against us will be without effect if our conduct . . . should be such as to conciliate public opinion.' Marshal Bellegarde suspected the Austrian political police of helping to make the conspiracies which they 'discovered.' A military plot, hatched in the summer and discovered in the late autumn, was more real. But, after visiting Vienna, Bellegarde wrote to Metternich that Austria should '*ménager l'esprit national de l'Italie.*'

Dr Gallavresi tries to show that Bentinck, Macfarlane, and Wilson, as honest supporters of Italian freedom, were thwarted in common action by a pro-Austrian Cabinet. But Bentinck was no Radical in this part of his career, and the older documents already proved that Castlereagh was favourable to constitutional government in Italy. It is not possible for an Englishman, however much opposed to the internal policy represented by Castlereagh, to accept the distinction drawn by continental writers between a consistent policy at home and an opposite policy pursued by Bentinck on the spot.

The Italian author thinks that later in 1814 'the danger of a fresh outbreak of Napoleon became so great that it forbade, on purely material considerations, the betrayal of Italian hopes.' His view is that Castlereagh at first betrayed the Italian cause, and handed over Milan to Austria, Genoese liberties to the King of Sardinia, Tuscany to a Grand Duke of Austria, the 'patrimony of Peter' to the Pope, and, in principle, Naples to the Bourbons; but that when Elba became dangerous he hastened temporarily to suspend his policy.

The fullest consideration of the new papers does not support this view. That there was hesitation and even contradiction is no wonder, for the circumstances were

incredibly difficult and the future dark. But Castlereagh was heartily with Bentinck in favour of constitutional government, in contempt for Bourbon rule, and in a not unnatural hostility to Murat and his Queen. Bentinck, like Castlereagh, foresaw that war with the Emperor Alexander, almost inevitable at the end of 1814, must make us once more the unwilling and suspicious allies of Metternich. The neighbourhood of Napoleon forced Austria herself, however determined to hold an Italian *glacis*, into an indecision with regard to central and southern Italy more startling than any that can be laid at Castlereagh's door.

Blacas and Louis XVIII alone professed to think Napoleon 'a corpse buried in an island.' The Allies knew that he would leave Elba, unless they took more active steps towards preventing his departure than any advisers, excepting the Vatican, Burghersh, and Bentinck, were willing to propose. Metternich was more afraid of Italian secret societies than of Napoleon, and 'stood to win in any event.' Napoleon might be killed; if, landing in France, he escaped death and reached Paris, he would be beaten by the northern Allies. If he were partially successful, Metternich was ready to bid higher than Alexander for his alliance, and was in a better position to obtain it. The King of Rome, under another name, was a pawn in the great game. The British Cabinet, who could have kept Napoleon at Elba if they had pleased, may have believed, as they continually declared, that Napoleon would land in Italy. Some may have been as willing that he should run his risks and shake the Bourbons, and France herself, as was Metternich. The police of the French Bourbons went so far as to suggest that Metternich was in direct correspondence with Elba through his old friend Caroline Murat. Alexander, protected by his snows, was more concerned with Poland than with Paris, and repeatedly threatened his 'allies' with Napoleon's return. In conversation, he told the Ministers of the Powers combined against himself by the Treaty of the 3rd January 1815, that when he liked he could let 'the Monster' go. Talleyrand quoted Alexander as the authority for his own words, referred to by Jaucourt and Pozzo as 'Monstre que le Czar se réservait de lâcher.' Queen Hortense perhaps had

ground for writing to Alexander after Waterloo in exculpation of her part in the Hundred Days: 'Enfin, . . . je vous croyais pour nous.' Jaucourt even suspected Talleyrand's participation in the intrigue, as is seen by the question 'Whether there is not some devilry of yours at the bottom.' Each of the allies of 1814 was indeed threatening the others with Napoleon. Castlereagh used him only to scare the Bourbons, Piedmont, Tuscany, and the rest, into granting or maintaining constitutional rule. The safeguard against a descent from Elba lay, it was repeatedly declared, in the contentment of the peoples.

The famous defence of Castlereagh's foreign policy in the 'Quarterly Review' of January 1862 had to be written without knowledge of the documents now before us. The writer guarded himself by these words: 'The obscurity in which diplomatic transactions are necessarily shrouded will conceal from the public eye the circumstances upon which his justification rests.' He dwelt on 'the necessity of sparing the feelings' of powerful monarchs or ministers elsewhere, and of hiding the faults of men whom 'it would be injurious to English interests to offend.' The events of 1814-15 were passed over—with a hint, however, of the true view of the similarity of Castlereagh's policy to that subsequently pursued by British statesmen, and the expression of well-founded doubts as to his affection for the Bourbons. So, too, Lady Londonderry, in her brief sketch of Castlereagh's life, writes that in foreign affairs Castlereagh was 'far from being the old-fashioned Tory that ignorant opinion supposes.' He was, indeed, 'in advance of his time.' But here again the most memorable period is treated in four lines, of which, it is now necessary to add, the apparent effect is negated by the discoveries of 1909.

It is useless in this respect to turn to the tenth and eleventh volumes of the Castlereagh Correspondence. What is now conspicuous in them concerns the 'many chasms and losses' mentioned in the introduction. But the writer, Castlereagh's brother, goes too far when he asserts of 1814 that 'the safety of Europe' was 'inseparably connected with the restoration of the House of Bourbon.' That was the opinion of Wellington, even before the decision of Talleyrand and Alexander. It was

a decision, accepted by Castlereagh with hesitation, and with doubts that deepened rapidly when Louis XVIII defied our representations. It must be borne in mind that Wellington, a more old-fashioned Tory in continental politics than Castlereagh, was influenced by his Bourbon surroundings.

Castlereagh, whose despatches only profess to 'hope' that he had met 'the wishes of the Genoese people,' wrote to Bentinck in the same tone of apology on December 17 and 18, from Vienna. Unable, under the new development of policy, to meet a 'desire to preserve a separate existence,' Castlereagh could assure Bentinck that 'the wishes of the Genoese people' had 'in all their arrangements gone before the wishes of the Powers.' The King of Sardinia had promised him to conduct his government 'upon liberal principles.' The Welbeck correspondence shows that the disobedience of Dalrymple harmed Bentinck. Dalrymple explains from Genoa, on January 28, 1815, his reasons for 'taking into my hands the government here. . . . Had Lord Castlereagh's intention been really what his letter expressed, my passively seeing the Piedmontese act otherways would have exposed me to great blame.' Blame from all sides Sir John did not avoid. Charles À Court charged him with using language 'indecent and disrespectful' with regard to Bentinck and to Castlereagh; while Hill thought Dalrymple 'crazy in his ingratitude.' Finally come two letters in which Dalrymple withdraws everything that he had written, with special 'regret at having incurred Lord William's displeasure.'

So far was Bentinck from being prejudiced against the restoration of the King of Sardinia, and in favour of the retention at all hazards of 'Genoese liberties' under 'the Most Serene Republic,' that his earlier letters to private friends accept the loss to Piedmont 'of a part of Savoy' with indemnity 'in the Rivière de Gênes.' In one of June 20, which has now been communicated by Signor Gallavresi from Italy to Welbeck, he added that the King

'will have the satisfaction of proving to the Genoese the injustice of their prejudice to the Piedmontese connection. If he acts wisely he will employ . . . Genoese in Genoese territory, and begin mixed employment by first employing

Genoese in Piedmont. Much management will be required to remove the natural animosity.'

Meanwhile confusion and uncertainty were spreading over a wider field. In November Castlereagh had been driven to use language of menace to the Emperor Alexander. The Duke of Wellington had described 'the danger at Paris—so many discontented and so little to prevent mischief.' On Christmas Day the Duke wrote to Vienna that the combination of Murat at Naples with 'Bonaparte in Elba' made the latter 'an object of great dread.' But, answering his own suggestion on the next day, the Duke admitted that the removal of Murat from his throne was a matter too 'delicate' for his policy to be approved by his colleagues. Nevertheless the Duke maintained that Murat's kingship, thus unavoidable, 'increases the chance of disturbance in France.' Also, in December, Burghersh had reported from Italy that the Italian party of independence 'looked with hope of assistance to . . . the island of Elba.' Fagan had already informed Bentinck that 'It may be expected, should Murat disappear, that we may soon see the Emperor of Elba at the head of Murat's army.'

Napoleon had fixed his eye upon the larger field. His enlistments had convinced Metternich that Paris was in his mind. Commandant Weil has brought together the accounts given by the Austrian and papal spies of conversations which reveal what the Emperor knew. A despatch from Burghersh, and the report of Sir N. Campbell, dated from Elba on Christmas Day, set forth the 'confidences' made by Napoleon in view of the division of 'the Four' Powers into two twos. Hoping for the outbreak of a war which could not but improve his chances, Napoleon thought it best for him to say so.

Count Litta, who had spent part of December with Napoleon, had been 'foolish and extravagant' enough to repeat Napoleon's secrets day by day to the spy through whom they reached Louis XVIII, Metternich, and our Foreign Office. We thus became aware of the details of his preparations for a war. This spy, however, when he made enquiries of others, showed over-great facility in belief. He relates in his report of December 26 that Bentinck had spent two hours with Napoleon. We now know from Bentinck's diary that this statement was, as

Commandant Weil suspected, totally untrue. The substance of police reports from Elba was the same as the opinion given by Campbell to our Foreign Office, that the Emperor, failing war among the Allies, would land in Italy. Metternich alone seems to have known better. On December 29 the possible alternative of a landing in France was reported to us. Litta had left for Naples before Christmas to inform Murat of 'Napoleon's intentions'—without knowing them himself.

It is doubtful how far Metternich departed from his attitude of expectation when he bound himself to Castlereagh 'never to establish the son of the Empress Marie Louise and of Napoleon as a king.' An eventual temptation to establish Napoleon II in France was, with Metternich, secondary to his firm resolve not to let us establish him in Italy. Metternich continued to use his habitual threat to Louis XVIII, conveyed in the question 'Quel rôle Napoléon jouerait-il dans tout cela?' Louis XVIII replied, through the same most secret channel, that unless Napoleon were sent to Africa 'on verrait un jour l'homme de l'île d'Elbe paraître en Italie.' On February 17, Saint Marsan wrote directly to Victor Emmanuel from Vienna, that Metternich had told him the difficulties of pursuing a common policy with England, and again adds, for himself, that 'Vienna' saw the risk of Napoleon 'reappearing on the scene.'

Castlereagh was given to respect, even under the most difficult circumstances, our foreign engagements of all kinds. His apologies to Bentinck about Genoa reveal a conscience more uneasy than was, perhaps, usual in such times. The removal of Murat from his throne seemed to him impossible for Austria to undertake in face of her treaty with that king, unless there were clear violation of its conditions. Now the treaty with the Emperor Napoleon was not of our making. It is often forgotten that the engagements of April 1814 were expressly between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, on the one hand, and 'his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon' on the other. Elba had been 'adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence.' Castlereagh undertook to accede 'to the Treaty,' with a person unnamed, 'so far as the same concerns the possession in sovereignty of the island of Elba.' Any

such accession was to be binding in respect of our own acts only, 'but not with respect to the acts of third parties.' The British 'Act of Accession,' long delayed, refused the Imperial title to 'Napoleon Buonaparte,' but acceded to the stipulations relative to the possession in sovereignty of the island. Castlereagh repeatedly placed on record his objection to the arrangements made, as he showed, by the Emperor of Russia 'in the absence of the Allies,' and his wish that there had been chosen 'another position in lieu of Elba for the seat of Napoleon's retirement.'

Historians continue to assert that the return from Elba came as a thunder-clap upon the Powers. But, there was not a Power, unless it were the France of Louis XVIII and Blacas, which had not regarded a descent from Elba as imminent after Christmas 1814. The proofs lay thick in the records of all their capitals.

Bentinck's reply to Castlereagh's 'private and secret' questions of December 18—differing from those in the Record Office—destroys the offer of Louis XVIII to dethrone Murat, on grounds which seem conclusive as to the existence of accurate knowledge at the time. 'The disposition of the French army' was such that 'it would be dangerous to assemble it anywhere or for any purpose.' Of 'the attempt' to attack Murat, 'the effect might possibly reach even to the throne of France.' A necessary first step would be the removal of Napoleon 'from his present residence.'

Though we had not bound ourselves to watch Elba, a different view of our responsibility was abroad and was not repudiated by us until too late. As Sir Robert Wilson wrote in 1814: 'The employment of a British commissary, a British frigate, etc., to carry into execution the articles' of Alexander's treaty, appeared to constitute a moral guarantee to Europe on the part of the British Government. Wilson had not seen Castlereagh's ambiguous letter of instructions to Campbell, and was in ignorance of the interpretation placed on it by Sir E. Pellew. Bentinck had pressed his friend Pellew, now become Lord Exmouth, to treat 'attending' the 'person' of Napoleon as implying a blockade. Exmouth wrote from 'Genoa, where my presence had been requested by Lord William Bentinck.' The naval com-

mander-in-chief had remained with his military colleague until he sailed towards England. Lord Exmouth 'arranged' only for 'attending' the ruler of Elba and the members of his family, in their own interest, and based his course on Castlereagh's vague letter. The admiral's words show an intention to help in watching, but not to assume a responsibility which the Government desired to avoid. When Exmouth had left with the larger portion of the fleet, Admiral Penrose carried out 'Lord Castlereagh's' instructions, as afterwards stated by Castlereagh in the House of Commons. We repeatedly represented to Louis XVIII that it appeared to us to be his duty to guard France. Penrose reports, as hearsay, that 'a French squadron of frigates and corvettes keep a strict look-out between Corsica and Elba'; but Corsica was not the important point, and the 'French squadron' was hardly in existence. We were singularly weak in the Mediterranean, and barely able to hold our own against the American privateers and the Algerine corsairs, with whom, as Penrose shows, his chief anxieties were concerned.

We knew that Louis XVIII was unable to prevent a descent from Elba. But none of the allies had insisted on a blockade by France, or tried to perform the task. Castlereagh afterwards told the House of Commons that blockade was impossible. To prevent Napoleon landing hard by in Italy was difficult. It would have been easy for us to destroy an expedition to the nearest point of France. Bentinck, among others, wrote freely in advance upon the method by which the end could have been attained. No serious attempt was made to thwart an enterprise almost openly prepared, and known to menace the Bourbon crown. The story of Elba will be rewritten in the light of police records, in part printed within the last few months by Commandant Weil as bearing on Murat's march against the Austrians from Naples to the Po. The reports of the chief French spy were published long ago by Pellet, but accompanied by notes showing how little the facts were known till now. They might have been guessed from the controversy between Campbell and Hobhouse in 1816. It will be remembered, as an interesting prophecy bearing on the return from Elba being expected, that, according to Hobhouse, 'the

boatswain of the "Undaunted," on reaching Elba with Napoleon in 1814, addressed him on the quarter-deck, in a short harangue, in which he *thanked* his honour, and wished him . . . *long life and prosperity in the island of Elba, and better luck another time.*' Hobhouse's italics might well have been confined to the four final words.

The Allies could take no action about Elba because of their conflicting interests and their disputes. Napoleon was so certain that this was the case as to joke with Campbell about blockade. In January he 'asked if the ships of war of Louis XVIII had been seen off . . . Elba.' No wonder that a French consul wrote, 'That fool Campbell is captivated by the Emperor.' In his report on February 15, alluding to Napoleon's alarm, of the first days at Elba, that he might be kidnapped either by the Bourbons or by the Dey of Algiers, with whom Elba was at war, Campbell added, 'In my last conversation with Napoleon on this subject he did not seem so apprehensive as he was at first.'

We now know that Fleury, accredited by Bassano's secret sign, had seen Napoleon on or before February 13. The preparations for the embarkation of the guard were complete on the 16th. On that day Campbell gave himself leave of absence, 'for my health and upon private affairs.' This he reported from Leghorn, adding expressions of anxiety as to Napoleon's quitting Elba; but 'I think it almost certain he is prepared to join Murat.' On February 18 that admirable but unidentified spy, 'the Oil Merchant,' had reported Fleury's departure, after several conferences, which left the Emperor in 'high spirits.' On the 23rd the French consul at Leghorn knew that Napoleon was 'about to sail.' The authorities of the island were publicly received to take farewell on the 24th. On the 25th Napoleon wrote to Murat, but I now learn, through the kindness of M. Paul Le Brethon, that the letters are not in Prince Murat's archives. It is possible that they may yet be found in the papers of Murat's Secretary of State.

What followed is at present unaffected by new matter. We already knew how Campbell's naval adviser was informed by Madame Bertrand of the Emperor's 'bad cold' the day before Napoleon sailed. Campbell was fetched from Leghorn on the fatal day for the purpose

of ascertaining whether Napoleon 'is still in Elba.' On the 28th came his report from Elba. We know from a fresh spy, sent at the last moment, that the Emperor's flotilla had 'been in sight,' becalmed till noon on the previous day.

Campbell was not prevented by Pauline's tears from writing to his Government, behind her back, that should he 'overtake this pest of tranquillity, the world should be eased of him.' In another of his many versions: 'The lives of this restless villain . . . and his followers are not to be put in competition with . . . the tranquillity of the world.'

The Austrian archives now reveal congratulations that Napoleon had not 'unchained' the Revolution in Italy. He had gone where it would be the business of Wellington and Blücher to stand the brunt with such troops as could be collected before the return of our Peninsula veterans from New Orleans.

When Bentinck's life comes to be written, stress should be laid upon the new proofs of his admirable administration of our Mediterranean affairs in March 1815. Testimony is borne to the value of his services at the time in the letters not only of Macfarlane and of Exmouth, but of Burghersh and Bathurst. The 'direct and manly course you pursued,' wrote Exmouth, 'would have produced results infinitely more advantageous than the crooked, half-measured, temporising means which he [Lord C.] followed.' The 'direct and manly course' extended, with Bentinck, to his wishes as regarded the Austrian generals in Italy. Their timidity and hesitation were censured by him from Genoa on April 21. Doubting whether 'the Austrians will venture to pursue' Murat, or be 'ready to come forth when the French shall enter Italy,' Bentinck urged 'pursuit till they have killed and eat him.'

This article has already shown the strange shifts to which Metternich and Castlereagh were put in their Italian policy, under the strain of Napoleon's entry to Paris. Commandant Weil brings out in his fourth volume Metternich's negotiations with Murat at the end of March. Our Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Cooke, who 'happened' to be at Rome, was also at the same time making proposals for Murat's alliance,

as well as alternative proposals to Sardinia for the creation of an Italian kingdom with a National Council.

War with Napoleon was not decided by Castlereagh until later. Historians have been misled by Wellington's signature of the declaration at Vienna which Castlereagh at first refused to ratify. The secret orders given by the Admiralty to Penrose and afterwards to Exmouth concerned Murat. Long before Castlereagh became certain that we should 'undertake the job' our fleets chased French men-of-war. One was taken after a hard fight. The French tricolour was treated as a piratical, because an unknown, flag. We were not at war. Exmouth was directed to follow Bentinck's 'plan of operations'; but it concerned 'the war in Italy.' As late as May 24 our admirals wrote of preparations against France, 'in the event of war taking place.' The Prince Regent's message announcing the probability of war was of May 22, and the Duke of Wellington's action of March 12 and 13 had then been ratified in guarded terms. Although on May 8 Castlereagh wrote secretly of the 'management required to bring' the public 'to the point of war,' yet as late as May 23 he admitted the possible need of an accommodation with Napoleon. His hesitation strengthened the conviction entertained on the Continent of our supposed treachery to the allied cause.

In the parliamentary debates of 1815 Bentinck was roughly handled for undue hostility to Murat. But he was also attacked for having left Dalrymple so long at Murat's headquarters in April as to justify the complaints of the Austrian generals who were fighting against the Neapolitan army on the Po. Castlereagh had approved Bentinck's action, now explained at enormous length in the pages of Commandant Weil's four volumes. The doubt left by the new papers is whether Dalrymple may be open to a charge of some abuse of the confidence of his treacherous and untruthful, but splendidly courageous, host. Austria revealed to Castlereagh letters to Bentinck from Lord Holland, obtained by the capture of the Whig peer's messenger in an amateur negotiation on behalf of Murat. We now read of Bentinck, in Austrian police records explaining the need for the arrest, that, 'although the enemy of the King [Murat], he is dangerous to Austria as a

partisan of Italian independence.' There was no love lost between Bentinck and 'Holland House,' but it suited Austria to treat Lord Holland as Bentinck's confidential friend. Bentinck's letters show his belief that our Government were preparing, at the end of April, to make him a scapegoat rather than to resist Napoleon. A fresh war with France was unpopular, and Ministers were building up a case for Parliament. A curious letter at Welbeck from Charles A Court, and one of the same date from Bentinck to Bunbury, give the grounds for Bentinck's suspicion.

As for the belief, universally entertained at the time outside the United Kingdom, that, in the words of an Austrian ambassador, we had 'facilitated Buonaparte's invasion,' our Cabinet heard of it from all sides. Burghersh from Florence reported that every one thought that 'the English connived at the escape.' Louis XVIII informed Metternich that Alexander had done the deed. If, indeed, this had been the King's belief, he would have stood alone in it at his capital.

Among the unpublished letters entrusted to me for this article by their possessors, are those written from Paris, in March '15, by Sir Charles Bagot to Mr Hammond. Bagot had been Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris. The recipient of the letters was George Hammond, also an Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, whose son, remembered as Lord Hammond, afterwards long occupied the same post. George Hammond had been one of those who joined with Canning in accepting Murray's idea of the 'Quarterly Review.' A long letter of March 7 contains Bagot's 'true account of what is filling all Paris, and will fill all London, with anxiety.' After quoting Campbell's report, 'forwarded by this courier to Government,' Bagot shows that Bonaparte is likely to march through Grenoble and to reach Lyons. At Lyons it was hoped to 'crush him.' This points to secret acquaintance with the intentions of Lavallette and the true situation at Grenoble. 'It is impossible to consider it as a mad effort of despair.' Believing in 'a general combination,' Bagot noted 'that there is combustible matter all round. . . . Here also there is much bad spirit. . . . There is an immense mass of disloyal people in Paris. I shall be anxious and very

curious to see how Soult, the Minister at War, conducts himself.' On the 9th, Bagot wrote again, 'There is hardly a person of whatever principles or whatever party who does not declare aloud his entire belief that the English have not only connived at, but assisted Bonaparte in this project: . . . folly; but . . . universally believed.'

After the debates in both Houses, Bentinck's military career was ended. A day before Waterloo he was offered a command—too late. For twelve years he was laid upon the shelf. In 1827 remembrance of the administrative powers he had displayed and recognition of his nobility of character combined to give him India. Attacked, at one time, like Canning, by Whigs and Tories, he should perhaps be claimed by both as one of the honoured statesmen who are the glory of both parties. Of the private letters of 1815 which deplore his fall, those of Exmouth are best worth remembrance. The naval Commander-in-chief went out of his way, after declaring the strength of his personal friendship, to express in the strongest terms his complete agreement at every point with Bentinck in all the matters which had been criticised by their superiors or attacked by the Whig Opposition in both Houses.

The defence of Bentinck is now perhaps complete. That of Castlereagh lies in the incredible difficulty of the circumstances and in the profound distrust with which experience of Alexander, Metternich, and the Bourbons had filled the minds of British statesmen—'their allies.'

CHARLES W. DILKE.

Art. 12.—ANGUS.

1. *Angus or Forfarshire, the Land and People.* Five vols. By Alex. J. Warden. Dundee: Alexander, 1880-1885.
2. *Memorials of Angus and Mearns.* By the late Andrew Jervise: rewritten and corrected by the Rev. James Gammack. Second edition. Edinburgh: Douglas, 1885.
3. *The Land of the Lindsays.* By the late Andrew Jervise: rewritten and corrected by James Gammack. Second edition. Edinburgh: Douglas, 1882.
4. *Historic Scenes in Forfarshire.* By William Marshall, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1875.

OF all the old provinces of Scotland none presents a greater variety of scenery, a more complete combination of rural and urban interests, or a history more illustrative of early ages, of feudal greatness, and of modern activity than ancient Angus, the area of which was more or less coincident with that of the modern county of Forfar. First known to history as the land of the Horestii invaded by Agricola, it was the kernel of the kingdom of the Picts, and its grand Abbey of Arbroath was the chief religious house of north-eastern Scotland. It is rich in old castles, some in ruins, some still inhabited by the descendants of their hereditary lords; it is associated with the early developments of the Reformation; it had its own share of the vicissitudes of the great Civil War, and its own romantic traditions of the '15 and the '45; while its quartette of industrial and residential burghs, Forfar, Brechin, Montrose, and Arbroath, are 'Four Maries' in the train of its commercial queen city of Dundee.

Variously described as approximately a square or a circle, and bounded generally on the east by the North Sea, on the north by the river North Esk, on the south by the estuary of the Tay and the Perthshire border, and on the west by the crest line 'where wind and water shears' of the Grampians, Angus contains four districts of distinctive character. Though Glenisla is the only portion actually within the highland line, and the only part which long preserved its Gaelic population intact, the country of 'the glens' and the 'braes of Angus,' including the part of the Grampians distinguished as the 'Binchin-

nan Mountains,'embraces nearly a moiety of the superficial area of the shire. Next comes that portion of Strathmore—'the great valley'—known as the Howe of Angus, which, though broken by lesser hills in the neighbourhood of Forfar, stretches between the Grampians and the Sidlaws from the vicinity of the Tay to the sea at Montrose. The elevated country forming the range of the Sidlaws has a separate character of its own, and the maritime region sloping gently to the sea successfully competes with Strathmore in the produce of the soil and the high standard of its agriculture. The coast-line has its own charm, as it changes from the waste stretch of sand at Buddon and Barry to the sandstone cliffs and caves where the land rises to the bold outline of the Redhead of Angus, and so on to the beautiful sweep of Lunan Bay with its golden sands and green background dominated by the ruins of the Red Castle, beyond which, again, lies the broad land-locked expanse of the basin of Montrose. Three rivers lend beauty to the shire, flowing at first through wild gorges and diversified highland scenery, and latterly by wooded banks and fertile fields. Forfarshire shares the Isla and North Esk, but the South Esk and its chief tributary the Prosen run their whole course from the Grampians to the German Ocean within its bounds. It has its lochs both highland and lowland, of which the principal are Loch Lee and Loch Esk, the sources of the two Esks, the chain of picturesque lakelets near Forfar, and the lochs of Lintrathen, Lundie, and Monikie, now impounded and controlled for the water supply of Dundee and the service of busy mills and manufactures.

The region is rich in memorials of prehistoric times. It has, or had, its Druidical circles, its 'rocking stones,' its 'Picts houses,' its hill forts, its chain of Roman camps, showing the course of disciplined invasion, and its varied and numerous sculptured stones. The names of a succession of shadowy Mormaers ruling one of the seven great provinces of the Picts appear from time to time, till their possessions pass by marriage to a Norman house. Tradition and local nomenclature record the first Christian mission, the settlement of the royal St Drostan in Glenesk, and how at Glamis St Fergus 'consecrated new *cænobia* to God and chose the place of his rest.' In 'the

straits of inaccessible mountains' the Saxon arms were stayed at Nechtansmere, and the flood of Danish invasion was broken on the low coast of Barry. The close connexion with the royal house of Celtic Scotland is indicated by the number of 'thanages' and royal forests, and the beautiful round tower of Brechin preserves the memory of a long established Culdee community and of King Kenneth, 'who gave that city to the Lord.' The Augustinian Priory of Restenneth succeeded an earlier Pictish foundation, and the records of the monastery of Cupar illustrate the labours of the Cistercian order in the cause alike of Christianity and civilisation. Red, Black, and Grey Friars, grey sisters and magdalenes had their habitations in Dundee, and Black Friars were located at Montrose, but the greatest ecclesiastical establishment was the magnificent Abbey of Arbroath, dedicated in 1178 to St Thomas the Martyr, by King William the Lion, who was buried before the high altar. With forty-six dependent churches, many baronies and fishings, the right of ferry over the North Esk and Tay, and the custody of the 'Breebannoch,' or consecrated banner of St Columba, under which its tenants were led to war, it soon became the most powerful and opulent religious house of the North. Within its precincts was held the Parliament of 1320, at which the Scottish barons addressed to the Pope their memorable letter asserting the independence of the realm, and among its later abbots was the famous Cardinal Beaton.

The first historic event in the annals of Dundee is the foundation of the church of St Mary by the gallant David, Earl of Huntingdon and Garioch, on reaching Scottish land after ransom from captivity among the Saracens and escape from shipwreck. The royal burgh then erected by his brother King William has experienced many vicissitudes. It was taken and pillaged, and the church, in which the inhabitants had deposited their treasures, burnt by Edward the First. There Wallace, when attending the grammar school, struck down the son of Selby the English Governor. Thrice taken by the Scots under Wallace, Scrymgeour, and Edward Bruce, it was the scene of the National Council of Scottish clergy who, in 1309, pledged their fealty to Robert Bruce. It was burnt by the troops of Richard II and by those of

Somerset in 1547. It was the first burgh in Scotland that declared for the Reformation, earning the name of 'the second Geneva.' There Wishart, 'a man of tall stature, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland,' preached in time of plague on the east gateway, attended on one occasion by young John Knox carrying a two-handed sword, and from Dundee the Wedderburn brothers launched the fierce satire of the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates.' It was taken by Montrose's Highlanders, but its darkest day came in 1651, when it was stormed by Cromwell's army under Monk, the garrison put to the sword, many citizens, men, women, and children, slaughtered, and the Governor, and those who had taken refuge with him in the steeple of the church, starved into surrender and butchered in the market-place. The sack and slaughter lasted for three days, and Monk's chaplain described the spoil as 'the best plunder that was gotten in the wars throughout the three kingdoms.' In more peaceful times Dundee has, as Juteopolis, become the fourth city in Scotland.

In 1291 Umphraville, Earl of Angus, held out the castles of Forfar and Dundee against Edward the First till he received a letter of indemnity from the claimants to the throne and the guardians of the realm. The castle of Forfar fell to Wallace and was surprised and captured for Bruce by 'Philip the Forester of Platane.' The town was recognised as a royal burgh in 1261, and is described as 'bone ville' in the diary of Edward I's progress. Its provost, Alexander Strang, almost alone, in 1647 protested against the sale of King Charles the First to the English rebels:

'In loyal heart, in pithie words, though few,
I disagree, as honest men should do.'

It was pillaged by the soldiery of Cromwell, who 'broke open the charter room, took forth all their rights and records, and cancelled and destroyed the same.' It was strongly Jacobite in sentiment, and in 1745 a party of Forfar men went under cover of night to Glamis, where the Duke of Cumberland's army was resting, and cut the girths of the horses. Forfar was for long famous for the manufacture of shoes. It is the county town, the seat of the Sheriff Court, and the great market centre of the

agricultural interests of the shire, while its later prosperity has been mainly due to the linen manufacture.

Brechin was 'a frie burgh royall' at least as early as 1488. In 1303 the castle was most gallantly defended against Edward I for twenty days by Sir Thomas Maule, who, when the English warwolf discharged its heavy stones, wiped the rubbish from the wall with his handkerchief till struck down by one of the stone shot. Surviving till the evening, he still refused to surrender, and it was only on the day after his death that the garrison lowered their bridges. The town has been for many years a seat of busy mills and thriving manufactories. Montrose occupies a position of advantage at the mouth of the South Esk, and was from ancient times a seat of population originally gathered round a castle. It was destroyed by the Danes in 980. There Wallace landed in 1305, and the Chevalier St George embarked after Sheriffmuir. In 1548 an attempt of the English to land was gallantly defeated with the loss of several hundred men by Erskine of Dun. It was the scene of the capture of the 'Hazard' sloop by the Jacobites in 1745. Even when it was occupied by the Government troops 'the Jacobite gentlewomen in Montrose got on white gowns and white roses and made a procession through the streets where the young boys had put on bonfires' on the Prince's birthday. The town has always combined residential charm with the pursuit of trade, and been fortunate in its excellent charitable and public institutions. An old saying, attributed to Thomas the Rhymer, prognosticates a future for the larger towns of Angus, of the realisation of which there is as yet no sign :

' Bonnie Munross will be a moss
When Brechin's a burgh town,
An' Forfar will be Forfar still
When Dundee's a' dung down.'

Arbroath arose under the shelter of the Abbey. It suffered from its exposure on an open coast to the attacks of the English fleets; and in 1781 resisted a bombardment from a French ship. Its manufactories are large and substantial, and the combined interests of town and country are succinctly epitomised in the Arbroath weaver's toast :

'The life o' man, the death o' fish,
The shuttle, soil, and plough,
Corn, horn, linen, yarn,
Lint an' tarry woo.'

Kirriemuir, the next most populous place in the shire, was a burgh of regality, and the head court of the jurisdiction of the Celtic Mormaers and later Douglas Earls of Angus.

Although it was at Stracathro (or Brechin) that John Baliol 'did render quietly the realm of Scotland as he that had done amiss,' and Bruce and Comyn, Earl of Buchan, confronted each other in Glenesk, no great battle of the War of Independence was fought on the soil of Angus. In the centuries that followed it had the common experience of Scotland, affected by its position between the north and the south, and on the borders of the Highlands. In two fierce battles its chivalry bore a conspicuous part. One was the stern conflict with the wild Highlanders of Atholl in Glenbrerachan in 1391, so graphically described by Wyntoun, when upon Glenisla there

'Came down all suddenly
Of Scottis a great company,'

with the wild whelp of the wolf of Badenoch among their leaders; and a handful of sixty knights, under Sir David Lindsay, Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, Sheriff of Angus, and Sir Patrick Gray, pursued and unhesitatingly attacked them. Ogilvy fell with his brother-in-law and many of his name, and Lindsay having pinned a Highlander to the earth, 'the mountaineer yet writhed him up against the spear' and struck such a blow with his broadsword that it cut through the knight's stirrup leather and steel boot 'full three-ply or four above the foot' to the very bone. On the red field of Harlaw in 1411 there fell, fighting with the Earl of Mar against Donald of the Isles, the Sheriff-principal of Angus,

'The gracious gude Lord Ogilvie,
Renownit for truth and equitie,
For faith and magnanimitie,'

with his eldest son, and among others Sir Robert Maule of Panmure, James Lovel, Sir James Scrimgeour—

'Sir James Scrimgeour of Dudhope, Knight,
 Great Constable of fair Dundee,
 The King's chief bannerman was he,
 A valiant man of chivalrie,
 Whose predecessor won that place
 At Spey with gude King William free
 'Gainst Murray and Macduncan's race'

—and Deuchar of Deuchar, whose hand clasped his sword-hilt so firmly that it had to be cut off and was brought home with the blade it had wielded so well. On a darker day for Scotland there lay around their king on Flodden the son of the Earl of Angus, the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, Lindsay of Edzell, Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure, and Carnegie of Kinnaird.

Arbroath was in 1445 the scene of the fierce battle between the Lindsays and the Ogilvies, in which five hundred of the latter fell, and the old Earl of Crawford was killed while endeavouring to prevent the conflict, of whom the chronicler philosophically remarks, 'he died in ane gude action labourand to put Christian men to peace, albeit he was very insolent all the rest of his lifetime.' The tables were turned seven years later when the Earl of Huntly, who as a guest had ridden with the Ogilvies to Arbroath, at the head of the loyal barons of the north defeated 'the Tiger Earl' of Crawford, then leagued with the rebellious Douglasses, on which occasion one of Huntly's vassals, who, in the heat of pursuit, found himself amid the Lindsays and entered with them the hall of Finhaven, heard the defeated earl say he would willingly pass seven years in hell to gain such a victory as Huntly had won that day.

A century later Brechin was again the scene of Gordon successes. It was captured by the Earl of Huntly in 'the Queen's name and behalf' and retaken by the Regent Lennox, who hanged Huntly's two captains and soldiers in front of the castle. In 1571 it was again taken by Huntly's gallant brother, Sir Adam Gordon of Auchendoun, in the spirited fight known as the 'Bourde of Brechin,' when he 'returned thanks to God in the Kirk for his victory, called the prisoners to the number of two hundred, mostly gentlemen, before him, and dismissed them on the sole condition of their remaining in future faithful subjects of the Queen.' The country at the mouth of the

Tay had seen sharp fighting some years before. In 1547 the castle of Broughty was yielded to an English force, who held it until the place was reduced in 1550 by the auxiliary troops from France which came to the aid of the Queen Regent. The Reformation received strong support from the north of Angus, the origin of which is found in a protracted quarrel between the baronial house of Dun and the town of Montrose. It culminated in the death of a priest in the bell tower of the church at the hands of John Erskine, who fled to the Continent, where he imbibed the spirit of the revival of letters and ecclesiastical reform. On his return in 1534 he established at Montrose, under a Frenchman, the first school in which Greek was taught in Scotland, and among the pupils of that school were Wishart, the most prominent martyr of the Reformers, and Andrew Melville, the champion of Presbytery. Erskine, as Superintendent of Angus, took an active part in the promotion of the new order. John Knox speaks of him as 'marvelouslie illuminated,' and the great Reformer is said to have dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's Table at Dun House, where on one occasion 'the greater part of the gentlemen of the Mearns were partakers.'

In the Civil War the great houses and gentlemen of Angus were ranged on different sides. Among the Cavaliers were the gallant Grahams led by 'the great Marquis,' the Earl of Airlie and the Ogilvies, and the Earl of Southesk and the Carnegies. The Earl of Panmure was a close personal adherent of his Sovereign, was with him at Holmby House, and was 'the last servant to leave the King.' The Earl of Crawford, trained in the continental wars, fought at Edgehill and Marston Moor. On the other hand, most of the Lindsays led by their Fife kinsmen and the Laird of Edzell, Arbuthnot of Findowrie, and others, were Covenanters, and an Angus contingent fought at the Bridge of Dee. The Aberdeenshire Cavaliers twice penetrated to Montrose. The Marquis of Argyll, who had a personal feud with the Ogilvies, laid waste their lands and burnt their castles in a raid, romantically commemorated in the ballad of 'The bonnie house o' Airlie.' The Earl of Airlie was in England with the King, and Lord Ogilvy's gallant defence of Airlie was in vain. His wife had taken refuge

at their highland residence, but Campbell of Inverawe had specific instructions from his chief 'not to fail to stay and demolish My Lord Ogilvie's house of Forthar.' The Campbells left 'bot bair boundis,' and these proceedings gained for Argyll, in spite of his caution 'not to let know that ye have directions from me to fyre it,' the distinction of being 'the first to raise fire in Scotland.' The county was traversed more than once by Montrose in his meteor-like campaigns. On the most famous occasion he eluded superior forces of the Covenanters, left Dunkeld at midnight on April 3, 1645, marched to Dundee and carried it by assault. Informed that the Covenanting army was close at hand, he got his troops, many of whom were intoxicated, together, and left the town on the east, setting fire to the Hilltown, as Baillie entered from the west. He marched to Arbroath, turned north-west, crossed the fords of the South Esk, and reached Careston Castle on the morning of the fifth, when his wearied men dropped on the lawn and fell asleep. They had marched nearly seventy miles, stormed a fortified town, and skirmished frequently on the retreat to Arbroath. They were soon on the move again, and in the wilds of Glenesk set their pursuers at defiance. Well might the skilled soldiers of the Continent say that they preferred this retreat to his most famous victories! Some years later, when taken a prisoner to Edinburgh, Montrose was allowed to bid farewell to his boys at Kinnaird Castle. His wife was Lady Magdalene Carnegie of South Esk, and strangely enough it was another Magdalene Carnegie, daughter of the Earl of Northesk, who was the mother of the other great hero of their race, Viscount Dundee. It was to his house of 'Glen Ogilvie' that Graham of Claverhouse, who was Constable of Dundee, betook himself after his dramatic departure from Edinburgh, and from it he rode to raise the clans. Haliburton of Pitcur, 'like a moving castle in the shape of a man,' fell with him at Killecrankie. That the sentiment of Angus was more strongly Jacobite at the Revolution than it had been Cavalier fifty years before, is indicated by the reports of William of Orange's officers, and in Forfarshire, though not perhaps to the same extent as in Aberdeenshire, there was difficulty in carrying out the settlement of the Presbyterian ministers.

The nobility and gentry of the shire rallied to the standard of the ancient royal house in 1715. The Earl of Strathmore and his uncle fell at Sheriffmuir. The Earl of Panmure was wounded, reached his own grounds disguised as a beggar, and was concealed by his wife till he escaped in a little boat from Arbroath. The honours and estates of the Maules of Panmure and the Carnegies of Southesk, and the peerage of Airlie, were forfeited. An Edgar of Keithock died a captive in Stirling Castle, and his brother escaped to Italy, where he was for many years secretary to the Chevalier St George and highly esteemed by the Jacobite exiles. It was he who, when Sir Robert Walpole tried to bribe him by placing ten thousand pounds to his credit at Venice, wrote thanking him for the money, which, he added, he had lost no time in drawing from the bank, and had just laid at the foot of his royal master, who had the best title to gold that came from England. A Fotheringham of Powrie escaped from Edinburgh Castle, and in exile in Italy, experiencing 'the notorious justice of this rascally country,' wished himself again on the cold slopes of the Sidlaws. The Earl of Forfar, a title held for a short time by a cadet branch of the Douglasses, fought on the other side as a brigadier in the Government army. Angus again swelled the forces of the young Chevalier in 1745. Another Earl of Airlie fought at Culloden, and among the relics at Cortachy are his sword, bearing a German inscription thoroughly characteristic of the chivalrous line, whose recent representative fell at the head of his squadrons on the South African veldt.

'Wer nicht Lust hat zu schoenen Pferd,
Ein blanken Schwerdt,
Ein schoenen Weib,
Hat kein Soldatenherz in Leib,'

and a drinking cup with the French lines,

'Si la Fortune me tourmente,
L'Espérance me contente.'

Lord Gray was saved from the fate of his neighbours by the resource of his good lady, who so successfully scalded his feet that he could neither draw on his riding-boots nor walk till the crisis was past. James Carnegie, 'the rebel laird' of Balnamoon, fought at Prestonpans,

Falkirk, and Culloden, lay hidden for a time in 'Bonnymunes Cave' in Glenesk, and, after hairbreadth escapes, got off with his life owing to a flaw in the indictment, to live peacefully and jovially ever after, and provide some of the most characteristic of Dean Ramsay's Reminiscences. The Chevalier Johnstone found his way to Duntrune, and after drinking 'a bottle of fine old claret' with the laird, was ferried across the Tay by 'two pretty young girls.' Graham of Duntrune had conveyed his lands to a relative before going out, and Sir John Wedderburn of Blackness was executed on Kennington Common. The Duke of Cumberland sent a special party to harry Glenesk and Clova as 'nests of Jacobites,' the commander of which burnt down 'all the Jacobite meeting-houses he could find.' The standard of Lord Ogilvy's regiment, a lock of the Prince's hair, given to John Kinloch of Kilrie, and his commission to Sir James Kinloch of Kinloch, are preserved at Logie, and at Kinblethmont are the flaxen wig, the tartan coat, and the walking staff used by the Prince in his wanderings in the Highlands, and given to his private secretary, Carnegie of Boysack.

The most powerful of the great houses of Angus were the Lindsays and the Ogilvies, and the estates of both were largely situated on the border between the Highlands and the Lowlands. It was a fact of no little importance that two such families were planted at the issues of the highland glens, and that the 'caterans' and 'brokenmen' who dwelt in their recesses were bridled by neighbours so ready to set the lance in rest. The character of both races was affected by their geographical situation. The Earl of Airlie—*pace* the competing claims of the house of Inverquhar—was chief of the 'Siol Gilchrist' as well as feudal Lord de Ogilvy. The Earl of Crawford was not only 'Lord the Lyndissay' but the head of a 'pridefu' kin,' and in their relations to their kinsmen and tenants, and the spirit of both races, there was little difference between the descendant of the Celtic Mormaer and the Norman knight. Both great branches of the progeny of Gilbert de Ogilvy, the brother of Gilchrist, one of the old Celtic earls, remain at Cortachy and Baldovan. But the curse of Cardinal Beaton, that every future Lindsay might be poorer than his father,

was fulfilled in the fortunes at least of the elder branches of the houses of Crawford and Edzell, and their name remains in one landed family alone. The Angus Lindsays* attained the height of their prosperity when, for one generation, their oldest earldom blossomed into the dukedom of Montrose; but, in spite of the gallant efforts of one or two of their name of character and attainments, a series of turbulent and reckless generations dissipated estates that once embraced about two-thirds of Angus. 'The evil Master' began the process; to 'a princely man, but a sad spendthrift,' succeeded 'the Prodigal Earl,' and in the days of 'the Troubles' 'the loyal Earl' was not likely to recover the situation. No more pathetic story of the fall of a great house exists than that in which the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres tells how the last of the lordly line of Edzell, whose princely hospitality won for their castle the name of 'the kitchen of Angus,' passed into obscurity beyond the Pentland Firth, and how the lady of Aithernie, 'the proud bird out of the eagle's nest,' came for a last look at the deserted halls.

The rights and lands of the Celtic Mormaers were forfeited by the Umphravilles in the time of Robert the Bruce. The earldom was then conferred on Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, whose heiress, three generations later, became the third wife of the Earl of Douglas, and their son the first of the Douglas Earls of Angus. The branch of Angus ultimately succeeded to the honours of Douglas, and the remains of the Mormaers' lands belong to their representative, the Earl of Home. The old thanage of Glamis, the dowry of a royal princess in the fourteenth century, remains the central possession of the Lyons, Earls of Strathmore. The line of Carnegie of that Ilk, which has annexed the two great rivers of the shire as its twin titles of honour, has adorned northern Angus with the lofty towers and princely park of Kinnaird and the walls of Ethie with the records of naval service to the State. The old possessions of the Norman houses of de Valoniis and Maule, increased by the acquisition in later years of the heritage of the de Brechins, of whom the Maules were already the rightful representa-

* The present Earl of Crawford and Balcarres descends from a younger branch of the family which had long been settled in Fife.

tives, have passed by marriage to the Ramsays of Dalhousie, and both the monument on the hill above Panmure, and the building which contains his generous benefaction to Brechin, keep green the memory of that strange but popular figure whose motto was 'Live and let live,' and who is diversely known as 'the wicked Lord Panmure,' and 'the Father of Reform in Scotland.' The well in Glenesk records the visit of Queen Victoria to his distinguished son.

The territorial connexion of the Grahams with the ancient thanage of old Montrose, from which they had taken their title since the days of William the Lyon, terminated in the days of 'the great Cavalier.' Of the branches of Claverhouse, Duntrune, and Morphie, the last alone remains, but the name of Dundee is for ever associated with that gallant Graham known to the Westland Whigs as 'Bluidy Claverse,' and to the Highlanders as 'Dark John of the Battles.' At an earlier period the title of Earl of Dundee was borne by the Scrymgeours of Dudhope, on whose ancestor, Alexander Carron, King Alexander the First, whom he saved from conspiracy at Invergowrie, had conferred the name of 'Scrymgeour' (or 'hardy fighter'), to which either he or William the Lyon had added the office of hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland. A later representative of the same family received from Wallace, as guardian of the realm, the office of Constable of Dundee. The classic pile of Camperdown House, and the huge figure-head of the Vryheid, recall the long weeks when, with mutiny at the Nore and a skeleton fleet, Admiral Duncan held the mouth of the Texel, and how he broke the naval power of Holland on its own low shore.

The castles and country houses of Angus are illustrative of its history. A few have their awe-inspiring traditions of the supernatural and the mysterious. The sealed chamber of Glamis holds its strange secret, and local superstition may maintain that the Tiger Earl of Crawford still plays on there, awaiting the change in luck that will never come till the day of judgment. The drummer-boy of Airlie may still beat his summons around the towers of Cortachy, and the tread of the cardinal's foot echo on the stone stair of Ethie. The barefooted boy may walk from Finhaven while there grows a chest-

nut tree, and the white lady of Careston flit through the wood, bewildered by the vicissitudes of its ownership. The memory of 'the Black Earl' and his more than human knowledge may haunt Kinnaird, and a kindlier halo illumine that turret-room on the slopes of the Sidlaws, where, in time of plague, Ballantyne set himself to preserve the ballad poetry of Scotland. The massive though riven tower of Finhaven, the carved masonry and stately yards of Edzell, the crumbling ruins of Wayne and Inverquhich recall how the grasp of fate closed on the heart of 'the Licht Lindsays.' Forthar never recovered the rough handling of the Campbells, but Airlie and Cortachy record the growth and changing conditions of the family that owns them. The 'iron yetts' of Inverquhar, for which the royal license of James II exists, and of Invermark, tell of a time when the strong man who lived on the highland border had to keep well his house. From the old tower of Guthrie, with its ten-feet walls, father and son 'of that ilk,' descendants of 'the Squire Guthrie' that fought with Wallace, rode to their rest on the fatal field of Flodden. Mains in Strathdichty has replaced the earlier castle of the old Earls of Angus, and the ruins of Red Castle recall the name of Baliol as well as the ruffianly raid when Gray of Blackjack nearly suffocated Lady Innermeath with smoke. Panmure is an example of the stately building of a great noble at the time of the Restoration. Brechin occupies the site of the castle so gallantly defended against the great Plantagenet, and Glamis, the most famous of all, unites traditions of hoary antiquity with traces of the genius of Inigo Jones. 'No other castle in Scotland,' says Billings, 'probably stands in this day so characteristic a type of feudal pomp and power. It by no means detracts from the solemn grandeur of the edifice and its overawing influence that it conveys no distinct impression of any particular age, but appears to have grown, as it were, through the various periods of Scottish baronial architecture.' No district of Scotland exhibits more fully the combination of ancient associations with modern comfort, and the varied origin of landed property in old inheritance, in military and naval service to the State, and in strenuous and successful industry and commerce.

In the rich fields of Strathmore the stately glossy-coated 'Angus Doddie' has attained his fullest development, and the more rapidly maturing short-horn cross gives brighter colour to the scene, while numerous substantial steadings of dull coloured sandstone, well filled rick-yards, and comfortable cottages, brightened with well cared-for flowers, evidence an advanced agriculture to which judicious landlords' outlay and industrious tenants' energy have concurrently contributed. The mills of Strathdiehty, of Brechin, Forfar, Arbroath, and Carnoustie, and the tall chimneys and ceaseless machinery of Dundee, testify to capable captains of industry and busy labour. The quays of a great commercial city have covered the old landing-place by the craig of St Nicholas. 'In Tiberim defluxit Orontes,' and the produce of the banks of the Hooghly has brought wealth and prosperity to those of the Tay. Monifieth and Carnoustie, with their mansions of merchant princes and innumerable villas, point to widely diffused comfort and well-doing, and the fisher folk of Auchmithie and Ferryden continue to reap the harvest of the North Sea. The links of Barry, where a kingdom was saved, form a training-ground for national defence, and, far out on the reef of the Incheape Rock, an outpost of Angus looks towards Heligoland, and the first of Scottish rock lighthouses rises in the tall column of the Bell Rock, where constantly

'A ruddy gem of changeful light
Gleams on the dusky brow of night.'

Art. 13.—THE APPEAL TO THE NATION.

1. *The Lords' Debate on the Finance Bill*, 1909. Reprinted from the 'Times' of November 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, and 30.
2. *The People's Budget* explained by the Rt Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909.

THE battle of the Budget is over. The campaign for the preservation of the constitution, and especially of the Union with Ireland, has begun. Hence many war-cries and controversies which for the last six months and more have distracted the country may be lightly passed over. It would, for example, be a waste of ink and paper to trouble our readers with a confutation of the silly assertion that the Lords have opposed the will of the British people. The charge is on the face of it groundless. What the Lords have done is nothing more than to insist that on a matter as to which there exist the widest differences of opinion, and which concerns the permanent and vital interests of the country, an appeal shall be made to the nation. In accordance with the substantial result of that appeal the Peers will regulate their conduct. The maddest of Roman emperors never dreamed that an appeal to Cæsar was a denial of Cæsar's authority. The electors, who, as things stand, are possessed of sovereign power, are not so dull as to imagine that to appeal from the majority of the House of Commons to the people is to offer defiance to the people. Few words again need be spent on the pretence that the Peers claim to regulate the national finances. They claim nothing of the kind. They have simply exercised the established right of rejecting a Bill which, under the pretence of being a mere money Bill, included permanent legislative changes, and therefore ought, like all other permanent legislation, to be submitted to the criticism and the vote of the Lords. The absolute rejection without any attempt to amend the Budget is enough of itself to negative the wild idea that the Peers wish to exercise a lasting control over matters of finance. It savours rather of folly than of partisanship to imagine that the Peers

contemplate a custom of rejecting Budgets. Nor is it desirable to pay much attention to the merely academical disputes as to the right of the House of Lords to deal with money Bills. Such controversies are at best infected with unreality. Lord Morley of Blackburn intimated to the House of Lords that the rejection of the Budget involved a violation of the Septennial Act. When the debate was over a moment's reflection must have shown him that no vote of either House, though it might lead to a dissolution, could by any possibility contravene a statute the effect of which is that a parliament cannot last for more than seven years. Some vague recollection of an error of Burke's must have suggested to him the delusion that the Septennial Act ensures to a parliament the right to sit for seven years. In the same debate Lord Loreburn flattered the House of Lords by the assertion that to their House belonged supreme jurisdiction in the administration of justice. It does not take the learning of a Lord Chancellor for a man to know that this statement was either an unmeaning quibble or a patent absurdity. Supreme jurisdiction does not belong to the 425 peers, that is to the House of Lords whom the Chancellor was addressing. It belongs to a very different body, that is, to a limited number of eminent lawyers who, in common with his lordship, are peers. When men of as much eminence, honesty, and talent as the Secretary for India and the Lord Chancellor so confuse forms and facts as to fall into the emptiest cant of constitutionalism, ordinary persons may well wish to avoid, if it be possible, the unrealities of constitutional arguments. After all, the lengthy debates carried on inside and outside the walls of Parliament make it at once tedious and futile to quibble over the relation between the two Houses in regard to money Bills or Budgets. We all of us by this time know how things really stand. It is easy enough to summarise the points in favour of and against the rejection of the Budget by the Peers. The legal right of the House of Lords to reject any Bill laid before them is past denial. Their constitutional disability to reject a money Bill has never been admitted by themselves, and has never been directly asserted by the House of Commons. Some of the leaders of that House, even when opposed to the action of the

Peers, have conceded to them the constitutional right of rejection and have even admitted that it is a power which may, for the advantage of the nation, though rarely exercised, be maintained. A Budget again is after all nothing but what might be a set of money Bills reduced to the form of one Bill. When Lord Loreburn, on the 25th of March, 1908, used the words: 'As to the question of throwing out money Bills, your lordships have the most ample powers,' he gave up, as was detected by the acuteness of Lord Salisbury, the contention that the rejection of a Budget lies beyond the constitutional competence of the Peers. All this tells in favour of the action of the Lords, but the rejection of a Budget is open to one strong *prima facie* objection. It is the unprecedented exercise of a real but latent power. To a latent power so used the well-known words of Burke precisely apply: 'Its repose may be the preservation of its existence, and its existence may be the means of saving the constitution itself on an occasion worthy of bringing it forth.' This language raises us at once from the realm of words to that of facts, from indecisive precedents to a real principle. The Lords have used a latent power. The true question in debate is whether the worthy occasion for such use has arisen. Our first aim in this article is to show that the objects for which all Unionists are contending are of vital importance to the nation, and that in fact the power of rejecting the Budget has been used for the sake of saving the constitution. Our second and subordinate aim is to point out the means by which, and the reasons for which, Unionists may hope for success in the conflict into which they have been driven. Let it be noted, to save all misunderstanding, that we dwell upon the objects common to all Unionists. With the matters on which they are divided, such as Free-trade and Tariff Reform, we have nothing to do except to insist with Lord Cromer that they are for the moment of subordinate importance.

I. *The main object of every Unionist must of necessity be to repel the impending attack on the Union between Great Britain and Ireland.*

The existence of the Union is, if the Government obtains a majority, in deadly peril. Listen to the words of the Premier, applauded by his audience of separatists:

'The solution of the [Irish] problem can be found only in one way' (cries of 'Home Rule,' and cheers), 'by a policy which, while explicitly safeguarding the supreme and indefeasible authority of the Imperial Parliament, will set up in Ireland a system of full self-government' (loud cheers) 'in regard to purely Irish affairs' (cheers). 'There is not, and there cannot be, any question of separation' (cheers). 'There is not, and there cannot be, any question of rival or competing supremacies. But subject to those conditions, that is the Liberal policy' (cheers). 'For reasons which I believe to be adequate, the present Parliament was disabled in advance from proposing any such solution. But in the new House of Commons the hands of the Liberal Government and the Liberal majority will be in this matter entirely free' (cheers).*

Mr Asquith, it may be, hesitates at the name of Home Rule. Let Unionists, if they doubt what the Premier means, weigh the terms—and especially the words we have italicised—in which his proposal is accepted by Mr Redmond:

'We are now in the midst of one of the greatest constitutional crises that has arisen in the history of the British Empire for over two hundred years, and what concerns us here more nearly *we have before us to-day the best chance which Ireland has ever had for the last century of tearing up and trampling under foot that infamous Act of Union which has made our country impoverished, depopulated, and unhappy*. I rejoice with all my heart that this great meeting—and not half those who desired to enter this hall have been let into it; more are outside than have been able to come in—I rejoice with all my heart that this great meeting of the citizens of the capital of Ireland proves they are awake to the magnitude of the issues that are at stake.'†

The day of ambiguities and equivocation is at an end. Let us in the name of common-sense and common honesty hear no more of 'devolution,' 'extended self-government,' and the like cant. What the Cabinet mean to introduce is Home Rule, as understood by Mr Gladstone, and as accepted by Mr Redmond. It is nothing less than the practical repeal of the Union and the creation for the government of Ireland of an Irish executive responsible

* Mr Asquith at the Albert Hall. 'Times,' December 11, 1909.

† Mr John Redmond at Dublin. 'Irish Times,' December 16, 1909, p. 5.

to an Irish parliament. Let the present Ministry remain in power and the battle of the Union must be fought over again. We Unionists are ready to fight it. This is not the place or time to show, as we are fully prepared to show, that a policy rejected by the people of England again and again is, as has been proved up to the hilt, ruinous to the nation. Let it suffice to put before every honest Unionist a few pregnant questions. Is he prepared to surrender all that was gained by the victories of 1886 and 1895? Will he yield to the astute ambiguities of Mr Asquith what he denied to the outspoken eloquence and passionate energy of Gladstone? Has a single one of the reasons which forbade the grant of Home Rule in 1886 and 1895 lost its force? Have not all the fallacious arguments based by Mr Gladstone on the relation between Austria and Hungary, or Sweden and Norway, been so thoroughly confuted by the experience of the last twenty years as to be transformed into cogent reasons against the wild policy of which Mr Gladstone was the patron? Is there any man, whatever his political belief, who is prepared to concede to the demands of Irish Nationalists an Irish executive and an Irish parliament, and at the same time retain at Westminster a body of members from Ireland who may govern England and Scotland and are more than likely to support any policy which may enfeeble the British Empire? Is this the time when any Unionist is prepared to weaken by dismemberment the now United Kingdom? Is any Free-trader prepared to allow an Irish parliament the power conceded to the legislature of every self-governing colony, of establishing as against England a system of fiscal protection? Can any Englishman dare to try the experiment of dismembering the United Kingdom at the very moment when it is admitted even by our present Government that we must strengthen our forces by land and by sea against the armed attacks of foreign Powers? Is there any Unionist—we had almost said any English Minister—who will allow an Irish ministry or an Irish parliament to raise an Irish army even though its character be concealed under the ominous name of Volunteers? Will any man of honour, will Mr Birrell himself, propose to subject the property and liberty of Irish loyalists to the power of an Irish

executive consisting of unrepentant Parnellites and supported by the desperadoes who have carried out the lawless behests of the Land League? Can any Unionist, in short, support a government prepared to tear up and trample upon the Act of Union? If these questions supply their own answer one thing becomes clear. Every Unionist, be he a Free-trader or a Tariff-reformer, must see to it that, as long as the battle for the Union rages, he subordinates every minor consideration to the support of the Union. Every vote given in favour of a Ministerialist is a vote given in favour of Home Rule; every vote denied to an honest Unionist, though he be a red-hot Free-trader, or a passionate Protectionist, is the desertion of Unionism.

II. *The immediate object of Unionist policy is to preserve the existence of the House of Lords as an effective Second Chamber.*

Unionists maintain the right of the Peers to compel on a fitting occasion an appeal from a majority of the House of Commons to the electors. They contend for the maintenance of this power because it is, as things now stand, our sole protection against the House of Commons first arrogating to itself the legal authority which belongs to Parliament and then using its temporary omnipotence to override the will of the nation. Such a claim requires instant resistance. Our new democrats, taught by the disastrous experience of 1895, dread nothing so much as the necessity of giving heed to the voice of the democracy. The desire to annul the legislative authority of the House of Lords and thus secure the supremacy of party is no new thing. It is unconnected with the controversies over the Budget, it marks the policy of Liberalism almost from the moment when our so-called Liberals obtained office. This is no random assertion. The policy of partisanship is now avowed by the true leaders of the Cabinet, Mr Winston Churchill and Mr Lloyd George, and it has been endorsed by the titular head of the Government. The gradual revelation of a revolutionary idea which has never received the sanction of the electorate is worth attention. On March 9, 1907, the President of the Board of Trade communicated, not to Parliament nor to his constituents, but to the public through the pages of a paper called the

'Nation,' a proposal for disposing altogether of the legislative power of the Lords. The scheme was probably studied by few Englishmen. It was hard to believe that an insignificant paper of no special merit, and of which we suspect not one elector in a thousand had read a copy, must be treated as the official, or, in the slang of continental politics, the 'officious' organ of the Cabinet. We, however, reflect with pleasure that we from the first called attention to the importance of Mr Churchill's utterances.* There is no need to repeat the details of an absurd plan. The noticeable matter is its object. It secured that under any ministry which for the time being was supported by a majority of the House of Commons, the Lords should be compelled to give effect to the legislative behests of the Government. No appeal either directly to the electors or to a succeeding parliament was provided for. In the words of Mr Churchill himself, 'the political supremacy of the House of Commons must be the vital characteristic of any Liberal scheme.' He admirably anticipated and summarised the ideas of the politicians who now lead the Liberal party. Supremacy meant with him, as now with them, sovereignty uncontrolled by any Second Chamber, sovereignty to be exercised without any need for an appeal to the nation. On June 24, 1907, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman as Premier carried through a Resolution† which formally endorsed the essence of Mr Churchill's policy. The Premier made the absolute and unlimited supremacy of the party which at any time commands a majority in the House of Commons 'a plank in the platform'—to use odious but appropriate slang borrowed from transatlantic politics—of the Liberal party.

The proposal to abolish the legislative authority of the House of Lords, whether presented in the columns of the 'Nation,' or in the equally unnoticed Resolutions

* See 'The Main Function of the House of Lords,' 'Quarterly Review,' No. 411 (April 1907), p. 420.

† 'That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail.' *Parl. Debates*, June 24, 1907 (4th series), vol. clxxvi, p. 926. The debate ended on the 26th of June, 1907, with a majority of 432 in favour of, and 147 against the Resolution.

of the House of Commons, fell flat. The Lords were not terrified, the electors were not interested; one election after another betrayed a want of confidence in the Ministry. Under the guidance of Mr Lloyd George, who understands the art of agitation far better than he ever understood his own Budget, the assault on the Peers took a new shape. A Budget which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, we are sure, would not only admit, but proclaim to be unlike any Budget produced by his predecessors, was laid before Parliament. To one point only will we here direct marked attention. The Budget placed, and was intended to place, the House of Lords in a false position. The House of Commons is supreme, by custom at any rate, over the finance of the year. It alone votes the estimates for the year. It alone grants the supplies for meeting these votes, and any other expenditure previously settled by Act of Parliament which may fall due within the year. Any expenditure or grant can be put on a more permanent footing only by an Act of Parliament, upon which the House of Lords has a right to express its assent or dissent, just as in the case of any other Act e.g., the Old-age Pensions Act, or the Irish Land Acts.* Now the Budget introduced permanent changes; it established permanent machinery for enforcing the land taxes, it opened the widest questions of policy, it was in many respects modelled upon and gave expression to principles which delighted the Socialists, whose support the Ministers have studiously courted. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, we are sure, will not deny that the Budget is no measure intended merely to meet the wants of the year. It is in the eyes of himself and his admirers the inauguration of a new policy; it is, according to the cant of the day, the poor man's budget, which is to seize the property of the rich and devote it to the benefit of wage-earners. It points in principle towards the nationalisation of the land, and, be it added, nationalisation without compensation to its present owners. Now these characteristics of the Budget

* Or, we may add, the Act by which, in 1846, Peel established free trade in corn. On this Act the Lords claimed, and, without any disapproval, exercised the right of expressing their opinion. Wellington won from them their assent, but knew nothing of their constitutional inability to deal with a money Bill.

placed the Lords on the horns of the following dilemma: If they rejected a Bill which could be described as a money Bill, they would incur, as they have incurred, misrepresentation and unpopularity. If they passed a Bill which was in reality much more than a money Bill, they would practically sacrifice that legislative authority which they hold in trust for the benefit of the nation. That this is so, is clear. No man who thinks the matter out seriously can deny that if once the Lords admitted their constitutional obligation to pass any money Bill, all measures to which the House of Lords were likely or certain to object would, by judicious draftsmanship, assume the shape of money Bills, and the legislative power of our Second Chamber would be virtually destroyed. It would, to take one example only, be easy enough, under the form of a so-called money Bill, to concede to Irish Nationalists more than half the reality of Home Rule. The Government, we conjecture, expected that the Budget would pass into law. It was in any case an assault upon the authority of the House of Lords, and an assault unsanctioned by the nation. The rejection of the Budget at once revealed the permanent policy of the Ministry. Their avowed aim is to establish by law the absolute supremacy of the House of Commons. The true leaders feel or affect delight. The Chancellor of the Exchequer rushes to the attack on 'the most rickety and gimcrack of idols.' He already, adopting the rôle of a Prime Minister, announces the intentions of the Ministry.

He would not, he tells the National Liberal Club,

'remain a member of a Liberal Cabinet one hour unless [he] knew that that Cabinet had determined not to hold office after the next general election unless full powers are accorded to it which will enable it to place on the Statute-book of the realm a measure which will ensure that the House of Commons in future can carry not merely Tory Bills, as it does—no, but Liberal and progressive measures in the course of a single parliament, either with or without the sanction of the House of Lords.'*

The fury of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is re-echoed

* 'Times,' December 4, 1909, p. 8.

by the verbal moderation but emphatic party spirit of the Lord Chancellor. 'It is,' he tells the House of Lords,

'in my opinion impossible that any Liberal Government should ever again bear the heavy burden of office unless it is secured against a repetition of treatment such as our measures have had to undergo for the last four years.' *

Mr Asquith plays his well-worn part of 'follow my leaders.' He supports, though with judicious vagueness, the policy of Mr Lloyd George and of the Lord Chancellor. He is still the advocate who speaks from his brief and has not yet learnt the dignity or responsibility of leadership. He does not explain the nature of the powers and the security desired by his colleagues. We must assume that the sincere wish of the whole Cabinet is to establish that despotism of party which is veiled under the term 'supremacy of the House of Commons.' Few expressions, we may note, are more delusive. The House of Commons, except in the days when it was hated by the people, dissolved by Cromwell, and at last contemned as the Rump, has never claimed supremacy. Legal sovereignty is possessed now, as it has been for centuries, by Parliament, i.e., by the King, by the House of Lords, and by the House of Commons. Political supremacy lies in the hands of the electors, who themselves are morally bound to act with a view to the welfare of the nation. The legislative supremacy of one Chamber is an absolutely new idea. To the revolution contemplated by the Government no Unionist, no believer in the merits of the English constitution, no one, we will venture to say, who cares that legislation should represent the permanent will of the English people, can assent. The change means, at best, the abolition of our Second Chamber. But this is an innovation which nowadays few serious thinkers and hardly an English statesman will openly defend. 'The need of two Chambers,' we are told in the often quoted words of Mr Bryce, 'has become an axiom of political science based on the belief that the innate tendency of an Assembly to become hasty, tyrannical, or corrupt can only be checked by the co-existence of another House of equal authority.' The all but universal

* The Lords' Debate, pp. 38, 39.

experience of popular government attests the truth of this axiom. In France democratic dogmas and some historical traditions for a long time maintained among Republicans a preference for government by a single Chamber. French opinion has now undergone a decisive change. The third French Republic maintains a Senate of which the influence increases year by year. Few indeed are the republicans who wish for its abolition, so universal at the present day is the distrust of a single Chamber of unlimited power. In Norway, a country inhabited by independent and educated yeomen owning small estates, this distrust has led to a singular result worth notice. The Norwegian Parliament consists of one House only, but under the constitution this House immediately divides itself into two Chambers which debate and vote separately. There is something more in the prevalent desire to place a check upon the omnipotence of a parliament than is as yet fully apprehended even by the fairest among English politicians. The people of one country after another have come to feel that a parliament, even though it consists of two Chambers, and is fairly chosen by universal suffrage, often fails to represent the permanent will of the electors. The demands for the Referendum, for minority representation, and the like, all bear witness to a sentiment which is widespread and deep, and not without its justification. But if even a bicameral parliament may come into conflict with the settled will of the people, it is absolutely certain that a single Chamber, not controlled either by another House of more or less co-ordinate authority or by the need of a formal appeal to the people for the ratification of important legislation, will become the mere instrument of a party. The House of Commons seems to believe that the people of England is sighing to confer upon that House absolute supremacy. No idea can be more delusive. To our whole line of argument it will, however, be objected that no one contemplates the abolition of the House of Peers. So be it. What we maintain is that the policy of the Government at its best involves the destruction for legislative purposes of our Second Chamber. At its worst and in reality it means something far more injurious to England. It means the prolonged existence combined with the legislative im-

potence of the House of Lords. It will reduce the House not only to a sham, but to a noxious sham. The weakness of the Lords will prevent them from in any way appealing to the people against the tyranny or the follies of a party who are supported for the moment by a majority of the House of Commons. The nominal existence of the House of Lords will prevent the fairness, the common-sense, the moderation, and the conservatism of the country from gaining an influence in a single and omnipotent House of Commons, which might be no small compensation for the abolition, much as we should deplore it, of the House of Lords. That House contains, even as things stand, more men of high character, of pre-eminent talent, of vast administrative and political experience, than any other existing Second Chamber either of Europe or of America. Who can doubt that, were the House of Lords abolished tomorrow, many of its present members would, to the great advantage of the country, be elected to seats in the one remaining House of Parliament? Take, to illustrate our meaning, a few of the men of each party who have distinguished themselves in the last debate on the Budget. Take from the one side Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, and the Archbishop of York; take from the other Lord Rosebery, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon, or Lord Milner. Is it not certain that such men would at once be elected members of Parliament if a representative Chamber existed in which they were allowed to take seats? No one knows this better than the ordinary M.P. The member for Little Pedlington is well aware that he would have little chance of keeping his seat if he were opposed by an eminent, perhaps even by a not very distinguished, peer. Many, it will be said, of our six hundred and odd peers are not endowed with very extraordinary talents. This suggestion (which, by the way, applies equally well to the mass of M.P's.) does not even touch our argument. The House of Lords admits of improvement; the nation, for example, would in our judgment gain much if not only the House of Lords but also the House of Commons were reduced to half its present number. There are assuredly various methods in which the legitimate influence and the representative character

of the House of Lords might be increased. Many among their lordships ardently desire reforms of the House meeting the wants of the time. Such improvements are rendered difficult by the corporate jealousy of the House of Commons. This is not the occasion for discussing the form which desirable changes should assume. Our ministerial Liberals are, in respect of the House of Lords, not reformers but revolutionists. They seek to weaken a body which, for their own purposes, they desire to keep nominally alive. For great institutions, as for men of noble spirit, paralysis is worse than death. With this doctrine all Unionists, we are well assured, will agree. The vast majority will, we are equally well assured, give it their assent. The Home Rule Bill of 1893, which was meant to annul the union between England and Ireland, was carried, and on many points carried without discussion, through the House of Commons. It was rejected at once by the House of Lords. The rejection received in 1895 the emphatic approval of the nation. The Liberal Prime Minister of the day, who is one of those rare statesmen capable at any rate of fixing his eye upon matters which lie beyond the field of party interest, openly admitted that in determining the terms of partnership between the different parts of the United Kingdom, the wish of the predominant partner had of right predominant authority. The power of the House of Lords, that very power which the present Minister and every ministerialist wishes to destroy, forbade legislation which was opposed to the will of the people. One example is as good as a hundred. The lesson has been well impressed on the people of England that the House of Lords is at the present time our only security against the absolute sovereignty of any party which for the moment is dominant in the House of Commons. That we have not taken a false view of the revolution aimed at by Ministers, whose absurd affectation of being true Conservatives excites the derision even of their friends, is acknowledged by men who stand as far apart from one another as can any Englishmen who take a patriotic interest in the welfare of their country.

‘The childish proposal’ (wrote the late Lord Salisbury) ‘that the veto of the House of Lords shall be taken away, while

it is still to remain a legislative Assembly, would be as much government by a single Chamber as if the Second Chamber were abolished.*

'Of all the schemes proposed' (writes Mr Beesly, who is no Tory, and has no love for the Peers), 'the most insensate, the most dangerous, the most hateful, are those which would retain the present House of Lords while curtailing its powers by statute. Rather than give the slightest countenance to any of them I, for one, would support the House of Lords as it is.'†

III. *A third object of Unionists is to withstand a policy of Socialism.*

The kind of legislation which they wish to oppose is best described in the words of one of the wisest and weightiest among their leaders:

'Many of the leading men' (says Lord Cromer) 'among the Radical party are very anxious to dissociate themselves from socialist tendencies. I need hardly say that I entirely accept their disclaimers. I do not doubt that many of them are no more Socialists than I am. But I have equally little doubt that, under the pressure exerted by the extremists of their party, they would put their names to measures which cannot be characterised as anything but socialist. Look at their land policy. I am one of those who think that the land laws of this country at present are in a very unsatisfactory condition. This is unquestionably an evil which requires remedy; but how does the present Government propose to remedy it? If they had made an honest endeavour to create a peasant proprietary class I should certainly have thought it my duty to give them whatever support was in my power. They have done nothing of the kind. What they propose is merely to substitute the State as landlord in the place of the private individual—in other words, to nationalise the land. They propose the State should buy up the property of existing landlords, often by compulsion, and that then the State should receive the rent formerly paid to the private owner. If this is not socialism, I do not know what socialism means.'‡

The particular instance to which his lordship refers is but one example of the attempt to gain for the poor

* 'National Review,' December 1894.

† 'A Strong Second Chamber,' by E. S. Beesly, Emeritus Professor of History in University College, London, p. 14.

‡ Lord Cromer at Sheffield. 'Times,' December 18, 1909, p. 9.

at the expense of the taxpayer—often by no means a rich man himself—advantages or comforts which have hitherto been gained, even among the less wealthy classes of the community, by the use of individual energy and self-control. This attempt marks the whole policy of the present Government. It pervades the Budget, it is seen at its worst in some of the provisions of the Development and Road Improvement Funds Act, 1909. It is the essential characteristic of socialism. We fully admit that socialistic laws are due to a state of opinion extending far beyond the Government and its followers. 'There is,' said Lord Morley with perfect truth, 'a great feeling prevailing, and quite beyond the lines of party, in this country, of pity, of sympathy, of horror at the misery our industrial system entails.' We most completely agree with this statement and also with his warning words: 'There will no doubt be foolish proposals made to satisfy the desire for remedy on the part of the sympathetically minded, whether politicians or philanthropists, outside politics—proposals, if you like, full of charlatanry, full of quackery.' We share his hope, though without great confidence, that in England, at the end of socialistic experiments, 'there will be left behind a fertile and fertilising residue of good.' Our hope might perhaps amount to conviction if we could expect the fulfilment in our country of one essential condition, namely, that socialistic experiments, filled as they are with risk, should not be made the instruments of party warfare. This condition has already been flagrantly violated by the Ministry of which Lord Morley is a member. The Cabinet's whole method of dealing with old-age pensions, its whole attitude throughout the Budget, is a salient example of the way in which socialistic experiments ought not to be treated. The Opposition has in these circumstances a duty to perform; it is bound to warn the nation again and again that State help destroys self-help; it is bound to recall the terrible fact, which no man can deny, that the benevolence of the old Poor Law was well-nigh the ruin of agricultural England, and that the destruction of the country was in 1834 averted only by the salutary harshness of the detested new Poor Law. The Opposition is bound to see to it that old-age pensions are not made a form of party bribery;

the Opposition is bound to ensure that a vast step towards socialism shall not be made at all until it is formally sanctioned by the nation, and that it shall be made in combination with the most careful respect for the fair and lawful rights of individuals—yes, even though they be criminals so notorious as landowners and dukes.

IV. *The object of Unionist policy is to expel from office, or, at worst, to deprive of power a Government which excites universal distrust.*

The reasons for this distrust can be and ought to be stated in plain terms.

The Cabinet gained office under false pretences. The victory of 1906 was due to the support or acquiescence of Free-traders, many of whom were Unionists. The followers of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman were elected as Free-traders, as rigid economists, as disciples of Cobden. They relied on the cant of the day that 'Home Rule was dead.' Not a hint was dropped that our new Liberals favoured socialism. Pledges were given, or understood to be given, that they would not favour any measure making for Home Rule. The Prime Minister and his disciples were supposed to be free from any tendency of a revolutionary character. All the legitimate expectations which won vote after vote from the imprudence or simplicity of Unionists have ended in disappointment. The disciples of Cobden have turned out to be the followers of Henry George or of the far less rational and more virulent Mr Lloyd George. The promised policy of economy and reduced taxation has produced the most extravagant scheme of finance ever laid before Parliament, and has raised the income tax, supposed to be the great resource of the nation in times of emergency, to a rate nearly as high as the rate reached during a period of warfare. Whether as regards taxation Ministers have adhered to the true doctrines of Free-trade we must leave them to settle with their competent critic, Mr Harold Cox. If they have left imports untaxed they have violated every other idea dear to Cobden. He distrusted trade unions and abominated their tyranny. Our socialistic Ministry has conferred upon trade unions the right of committing legal wrongs without incurring therefor the ordinary legal liabilities. The Trade Disputes Act, 1906, has, for the first time in the modern

history of England, created a privileged class freed from the legal obligations of ordinary citizens. A Government expected to recommence the era of financial retrenchment has plunged into outrageous expenditure. It has deemed the time when the Treasury was menaced with a deficit appropriate for incurring unlimited and limitless liabilities by a grant of old-age pensions, which to Adam Smith, to Mill, or to Cobden, would have appeared a calamitous extension of outdoor relief. In words endorsed and applauded by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Act could be described as 'completely undermining the present Poor-Law system.' A strong Commission was actually enquiring into the amendments required by the existing Poor Law, but, with incredible recklessness, our Ministers would not wait to hear the Report of the Commission. They knew they were entering upon a path which was full of danger, yet they refused to take the most ordinary precautions to guard against its perils. No question could be more important than the enquiry whether pensions bestowed by the State upon the aged poor ought not, for the sake of the recipients even more than of the taxpayers, to be made dependent on contributions from the men who were to receive an immense boon at the expense of their neighbours. The Chancellor himself indeed appears now to admit that old-age pensions must ultimately be based upon some contributory system. He has even enquired into the subject, but his enquiries, we gather, are the fruit of a recent journey to Germany. We admire his readiness to correct his ignorance by personal investigation, but it is allowable to wish that an instructive mastery of the German system had preceded rather than, as seems to have been the case, followed the passing of the Old-age Pensions Act, 1908. Under any view of the circumstances, the neglect of our Ministers to wait for the Report of the Poor-Law Commission remains an act of unpardonable rashness. It argues an intellectual and moral flurry produced by unseemly haste. No doubt the haste may have been prompted by excessive sympathy for the poor. But the candour and calmness of future historians is likely to attribute it to the intelligible desire to avert at all costs declining popularity. The pledge or understanding which forbade the introduction of a Home Rule Bill

gained many votes. Even if kept to the letter, it was soon violated in spirit. The Irish Councils Bill was in its essence a Home Rule Bill; it virtually, though not in name, established an Irish Parliament. It was a Bill which every Unionist throughout the United Kingdom would in 1886 or 1893 have rejected with scorn. It introduced Home Rule in the form which promised least benefit to Ireland and inflicted the greatest possible damage on Great Britain. It could not satisfy any *bonâ fide* Nationalist. It was not the conclusion but the opening of a new and embittered controversy. It held out no hope of even that temporary peace which is the most urgent need of a country ruined by agitation and lawlessness. The Bill gave, on the other hand, to Great Britain no compensation whatever for the admittedly dangerous experiment of creating an Irish Parliament, misnamed a Council. Not a single member from Ireland would, under the Bill, had it passed into law, have ceased to sit in the Parliament at Westminster. This calamitous measure was, it is true, withdrawn. But England in this matter owes nothing either to the wisdom or to the patriotism of the Cabinet. In plain truth, Irish Nationalists and their ministerial allies were prepared to defy the British electorate, but yielded servile obedience to the veto of the Irish priesthood. The attempt to pass a Home Rule Bill under the false pretence that it was a mere extension of local self-government broke down. This failure was, however, followed or accompanied by a far more insidious and far less defensible attack on the union between Great Britain and Ireland. The English Cabinet, containing as it did, some ardent Home-rulers, took care that the administration of Irish affairs should be carried on in accordance with the wishes of Irish Nationalists. Law-breakers were to go, or have gone, unpunished as long as their breaches of the law, or, in plain words, crimes, were applauded or condoned. On one maxim, at least, Ministers have been, and we suppose still are, absolutely agreed. In no circumstances whatever will they consent to use powers conferred upon the Executive by the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887, for the maintenance of law and order. This statute is as much a law of the land as any law you can name; it deserves as much respect as any other enactment in the

Statute-book. In the hands of a just administrator, such as Mr Balfour, it has proved singularly effective for the suppression of crime.

This law is, at the command of Nationalists who do not even profess loyalty to England, tabooed by the English Executive. Do Englishmen realise what this means? It means that the rights of Irishmen, the elementary rights of every citizen to the possession of his property and the safety of his life are not protected as they ought to be in every civilised country by the whole power of the State. Now a right which is not enforced by the State is in reality no right at all. The rights possessed by loyalists in Ireland are made, under the system pursued by the present Ministry, to vary according to the fluctuation of English party conflicts. If Unionists are in power the rights of loyal citizens are protected and kept in full force; if a Home Rule Ministry comes into office these rights are not protected, and for all practical purposes cease to exist. The statesmen who profess to be the advocates of democracy, and even try to pose for the nonce as protectors of the constitution, exercise, in fact, a dispensing power. This detestable system leads to a result on which it behoves not only every Unionist, but every elector throughout the United Kingdom to reflect.

No man of spirit, no citizen of a civilised state, and therefore no Irishman, will bear, or ought to bear, a state of things under which his rights to life and property vary in accordance with the changes of English political parties. Such a condition of affairs is, in the strictest sense, intolerable. Let it, through the existence of the present Government, endure for some five or six years longer, and Irish loyalists will be turned into separatists. Injustice supported by the power of the United Kingdom will supply an argument in favour, if not of Home Rule, yet of separation, to which the most zealous of Unionists will with difficulty find an answer.

The Government again cannot be trusted to make adequate provision for national defence. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, we may be pretty sure, does not believe that expense in this direction is necessary. Note the way in which he describes, not in his excited speeches, but in what we must presume to be his calmer contribu-

tion to the 'Nation,' the misapplication, as he deems it, of the revenue raised by the Finance Act of 1894. 'What was left,' he says, 'after the landlords had enjoyed the first cut, *was frittered away over futile expenditure on armaments.*'* Of the venom contained in the first words of this sentence we say nothing. We call attention to the expression which we have printed in italics. The certainty, however, that he and many of his colleagues will deem every penny spent on the army or the navy to be money frittered away depends on deeper causes than the excitability of an embittered and sentimental demagogue. Not only the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but his colleagues are, to judge by their conduct, bent on raising a constantly increasing revenue, that is, on imposing heavier and heavier taxes, for the trial of socialistic experiments. But socialism means disbelief in the benefit of individual freedom and boundless faith in the action of the State, and in the good to be derived from vast public expenditure. Hitherto Englishmen and foreigners alike have supposed that, in case of actual or threatened war, England can rely on unlimited pecuniary resources. But to-day there clearly enough exists a risk that we are approaching the limit of bearable taxation. The heaviness of national taxation is, though men constantly forget it, vastly increased, if not doubled, by the weight of local rates, which are, of course, taxation in another form. The time draws near when the electors will feel that further taxation is intolerable. An overtaxed country may be almost as defenceless as an unarmed country. Does the present Government consist of men who can be trusted to curtail grants of public money, at the moment popular because they help some impoverished class, for the sake of guarding against possible invasion? Precautions, a wise man has said, are always unpopular; whenever they are effectual they are thought to have been unnecessary. Is our excitable Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the reckless head of the Board of Trade, the kind of man who would sacrifice the applause and the votes of his supporters in order to increase the strength of our navy?

The worst offence with which the Government is

* 'The Nation,' October 30, 1909, p. 181.

justly chargeable is that it has lowered the whole tone of public life. There is no need to enumerate the inaccuracies or the misrepresentations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Limehouse speech, the speech at Newcastle, the apocryphal anecdotes of Cardiff, are in every one's memory. Even were it the case, which it assuredly is not, that every telling anecdote and every piece of personal invective with which he has adorned his harangues had turned out capable of explanation or apology, the one broad fact would remain, which admits not of denial, that the leading and conspicuous demagogues on whose oratory the Ministry mainly rely, such as Mr Lloyd George, Mr Winston Churchill, and Mr Ure, are men of a type hitherto unknown to the public life of England. They are politicians in the American sense of that term, they are men who have entirely forgotten, if they had ever learned, the old and salutary tradition of English statesmanship, that every man, be he Tory, Whig, or Radical, who was a servant of the Crown became by that very fact the servant of the nation, and that, however ardent a politician, he must, whilst holding office, keep before his mind, and show by the decency and the dignity of his language, that he owed a duty not only to the party which had placed him in power, but also, and above all, to the country which he had the honour to serve. This assuredly was the conviction of Peel, of Wellington, of Russell, of Palmerston, and of Gladstone. To all these great men and scores of others whose names are now forgotten, language such as that used, and personal attacks such as those made, by our Chancellor of the Exchequer were strictly speaking impossible. The Premier, the Lord Chancellor of England, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs retain, as regards language at least, the traditions of past and better times. But Mr Asquith is bound to remember that a Premier is rightly held responsible for the public utterances of colleagues supposed, it may be erroneously, to be under his control. For every vote he wins by harangues which he himself would never dream of delivering, he pays by the loss of public respect. For inaccuracies he has not censured, or for misrepresentations he has not contradicted, he will bear the responsibility. Not two years have passed since it was impossible to elicit from Mr

Asquith whether he did or did not approve of Mr Churchill's pronouncement at Manchester in favour of Home Rule. There are many who will ask whether the electors of Manchester and the nation had not a right to know, what we all know to-day, that the Prime Minister was ready to surrender the Union in return for the votes of Irish Nationalists. Nor is this the most serious of the matters in which the whole Government is bound by the action of the most prominent among its speakers. Can any one deny that the whole campaign in favour of the Budget, as carried on by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has been a deliberate and possibly successful attempt to set class against class, Nonconformists against Churchmen, Welshmen against Englishmen, the poor against the rich? And this attempt to excite social animosity is made at a time when any man who has the least knowledge either of the past history or the present life of England must know that Englishmen of all classes are moved, as never before, with sympathy for the wants and pity for the sufferings of every class of the community, and especially of the poor. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not listen to the protests of opponents, he may surely give heed to the noble and wise language of Lord Morley.* A few specimens of our demagogue's reckless malignity may suffice to prove our point. He insinuates in his deliberately published 'People's Budget' that the offer of old-age pensions was, on the part of the Tory party—it was by the way mainly pressed forward by Mr Chamberlain, who is not a Tory at all—a piece of deliberate political hypocrisy.† He has the audacity to hint to the crowds at Limehouse that in some way or other mine-owners are to be held morally responsible for, but are callously indifferent to, the risks to which miners are exposed. When asked—we quote his very words—'Won't you give something towards keeping [aged miners] out of the workhouse? They scowl at you; and we say, "Only a ha'penny—just a copper." They say, "You thieves." And they turn their dogs on to us.' Is this, we ask, language which, in the remotest degree, represents the feeling of rich Englishmen towards

* See p. 295, *ante*.

† 'People's Budget,' Preface, pp. viii, ix, and 3, 4.

their poorer neighbours, is it language which comes with decency from a highly-paid servant of the nation, is it language which would have been tolerated by Gladstone, is it language which ought to receive the tacit toleration of the Premier?

Our Ministers have done much to set class against class; they have committed, if not a more hateful, yet a more dangerous offence. They have adopted a policy which imperils that success of popular government which, in the present condition of the world, affords the best hope for the progress of mankind. They are teaching the democracy of England the too easily learnt lesson that a class which has obtained predominant authority has a right to use the resources of the State so as to gain for its own members the maximum of material comfort. It is impossible on this matter to say that one party alone is to blame. A variety of causes good and bad work together to infect politicians with the desire to please, which constantly means to corrupt, English wage-earners. But the Cabinet has gone farther along an evil path than any of its predecessors. The Budget, the Development, etc., Act., 1909, the promises by which the Budget is accompanied, are all full of bribery to the poor. Now the vice of modern democracy is the corruption of classes. It is well known to the French Republic, it is a disease spreading among many of our self-governing colonies, it is a malady deplored but hardly resisted by the citizens of the American Commonwealth; it fosters the tyranny of the Machine, it supports the baneful power of the Boss, it has hitherto been more or less curbed in England, it is becoming to-day an ominous and pressing peril. The very expressions, the 'People's Budget,' or the 'Poor Man's Budget,' smack of corruption. A Budget ought to be the Budget neither of the rich nor of the poor, but of the nation. Every Englishman worthy of the name has hitherto accepted this principle. Gladstone, indeed, proffered to the middle class, which thirty-six years ago held predominant power, the repeal of the income tax. The offer, made on the very eve of a general election, looked uncommonly like a bribe. The morality of the public was shocked; the electors of England declined to accept an insidious benefit. Will the democracy of 1910 show as high public spirit as the ten-pound house-

holders of 1874? On the answer to this question turns the fate, not of England only, but of popular government throughout the civilised world. The Cabinet, guided by the passion of partisanship, are the corrupters of the democracy. One thing is certain. A corrupt democracy will disappoint the hopes of every patriot.

All the charges, and they are many, which can justly be brought against Mr Asquith and his colleagues, resolve themselves into one accusation. A singular consistency of spirit runs through a whole body of apparently incongruous political ideas. It links together men utterly differing in character and in talents, who might at first sight appear all but incapable of common action. Lord Loreburn and Lord Morley, Mr Lloyd George and Mr Churchill, the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey, all agree in one leading idea; this is their profound faith in the sacredness of party government. Adoration of party is the leading—we had almost said the only—article of their political creed. Herein lies their strength. Any one who studies that most remarkable book, Lowell's 'Government of England,' will find almost demonstrative proof that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, our system of party government has gained year by year increasing force. The people of England are growing heartily sick of it, and seek far and wide for a substitute which they have not yet found. This state of opinion is the very thing to which our parliamentary leaders are blind. This is the source of their weakness. They do not recognise a revolution visible enough to any man who stands outside Parliament and with open eyes can look plain facts in the face. Hence the very best of our parliamentarians, such, for example, as was Mr Gladstone and is Lord Morley, find themselves bound by an allegiance to party which at any moment may turn into disloyalty to the nation. The Unionists of 1886, whatever their errors, exhibited the great virtue of resolution to break through the tyranny of party. They dissolved the great Liberal party; they swept away the traditional and unmeaning differences which divided patriotic Conservatives from patriotic Whigs. The Unionists of to-day, under less favourable circumstances, and deprived by death or disease of their noblest leaders, such as Lord Salisbury, the Duke of

Devonshire, John Bright, Lord Goschen, Joseph Chamberlain, and others, whose names will ever be cherished by English patriotism, must fight the old battle over again. They have begun a campaign which will not end with the results of this general election. Unionists, like their opponents, are united by one idea; their fundamental faith is the necessity and the duty of insisting that the rules and the action of party government, the very privileges of the House of Commons, which were originally acquired for the defence of the country against the threatening tyranny of the Crown, shall be made subordinate to the authority of the nation.

How is victory in an arduous and possibly long conflict to be won?

The answer is easy to make, even though it be hard at moments to obey.

For the achievement of objects dear to every Unionist, and especially the maintenance of the United Kingdom, Tories and Radicals, Free-traders and Tariff-reformers, must treat their differences as nothing compared with the faith they hold in common. The advice of Lord Cromer,* who, better than any man living, represents the Unionism of 1886, is the counsel of common-sense as well as of patriotism. It is, in substance, that a Unionist Free-trader may, and in his lordship's judgment ought, in every case to vote for a Unionist, even though he be a Tariff-reformer. This involves no treason to a man's own Free-trade convictions. 'It will merely imply,' to use his lordship's words,

'that the Unionist Free-trader is prepared to proclaim a truce, and will lay aside his special ideas in order to subserve other and, as I consider, even more important, ends. And what are those ends? The first and most important of all is to ensure the continued existence of an effective Second Chamber. The second is to maintain the union with Ireland and thus prevent the disruption of the Empire. The two issues, that of the Second Chamber and the maintenance of the Empire, are intimately connected. This has been fully recognised by the leaders of the Irish Nationalist party.†

This principle of self-sacrifice enunciated by Lord Cromer

* Re-echoed and reinforced just as these pages are going to press by Lord Rosebery.

† Times Lords' Debate, p. 51.

applies fully also to Tariff-reformers. A Unionist who believes in Tariff Reform must always prefer a Free-trade Unionist to a Home-ruler, or, in other words, to a Ministerialist or a separatist.

No pains again must be spared to dissipate all the errors, delusions, or misrepresentations not too scrupulously circulated by the reckless inaccuracy, to use no stronger term, of Mr Lloyd George, his imitators or his dupes. When bad coin is current no honest man should miss an opportunity of nailing it to the counter. Thus, to give one example of our meaning, no opportunity should be lost—it would be well that our most prominent leaders should bear this point in mind—of proclaiming in the clearest terms that Unionists as a party are not only willing but eager to take in hand the improvement of the House of Lords, to remove every peculiarity which may make it appear a representative merely of the Conservative party, and to turn it into what every Second Chamber should be—such a representative of the conservatism of the country as may render impossible that a party should usurp the authority and withstand the permanent wish of the nation.

Prophecy as to the immediate result of the election is at the present moment the idlest of employments. The contest in which we are engaged may be a long one, but omens of ultimate victory are provided by the commission, on the part of Ministerialists, of two errors, which, when once realised, are certain to divert the support of the English people.

Our Ministers are, in the first place, pursuing a path already trodden by men who deemed themselves Whigs or Liberals, a path which inevitably leads to placing the power of the House of Commons in opposition to the sovereignty of the nation. There occurs in Lord Morley's fine speech the singular expression 'a penal dissolution.' Do our readers know whence he obtained it? It belongs to Burke, and to the celebrated conflict of 1783, linked inseparably with the ominous name of the Coalition. The House of Lords had thrown out an India Bill brought in by the Government of North and of Fox. The Ministry commanded a vast majority of the House of Commons. Parliament had not run out the septennial period for which it was elected. Burke, with his usual passion, and

even more than his usual indiscretion, maintained that the House could not constitutionally be dissolved, and that if the king exerted his authority to dissolve Parliament he would violate constitutional precedent and bring about the enormity of a penal dissolution. Burke's doctrine had some plausibility. He could rely upon custom extending over seventy years (1714-1784). 'No Prince of the Hanoverian line' (writes Macaulay) 'had ventured to appeal from the representative body to the constituent body.' There were circumstances, further, of intrigue connected with the fall of the Coalition which all Whigs, and many moderate men who were not Whigs, condemned. But the king dared a dissolution. He appealed from a parliamentary majority to the sovereignty of the nation. The country responded to the call. Englishmen denied the supremacy of the House of Commons and practically affirmed the sovereignty of the people, and banished from power the Whigs of 1784 for well-nigh fifty years. Burke detested an appeal to the electors as much as Lord Morley, we regret to say, detests the Referendum. Burke denounced the dissolution with an imprudence of which Lord Morley could never be guilty, as a sort of *coup d'état* by which a 'Parliament had been sentenced, condemned, and executed.' The curiosity of the thing is that the most philosophical Radical of to-day falls back into the attitude of the Old Whig of 1783, and by his reference to a penal dissolution recalls, inadvertently, the two pregnant facts that, on the one great occasion when the House of Lords defied a majority of the House of Commons, the Peers were victorious, and that they gained their triumph because the people of England would not acknowledge the sovereignty of a parliamentary majority which defied the will of the nation. We do not, however, wish to lay too much stress on constitutional precedents however encouraging they may be by way of omens.

The second error of the Cabinet is of far more importance. Ministers have overlooked the fact, patent on every page of constitutional history, that the people of England are intensely influenced by moral considerations. The party which adheres, or even seems to adhere, to the plain maxims of public morals has always in the long run been victorious. Now the most notorious repre-

sentatives of the Cabinet are those eminent demagogues, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade. The lack of self-control, the violence, the passion, and the gross misrepresentations of the one, and the tergiversations of the other, are not to the taste of the English people. Nor does the plausibility, the suppleness, and the weakness of the Prime Minister please the country, which wants a leader, and looks with suspicion on an advocate. We are well assured that the moral feeling of an untold number of moderate men has been offended. Unionists suffer much and may suffer more by their honest division of opinion as to economical doctrines, but if they keep their heads cool, and keep clear of all discreditable political alliances, they will find a source of unbounded and ever-increasing strength in their respect for the authority of the nation, and in their adherence to the plain dictates of political morality and honesty. Let them with Burke proclaim that the principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged; let them so act as to be able with him to assert that 'the principles which guide us, as they are not of our devising, but moulded into the nature and essence of things, will endure with the sun and moon long, and very long, after the name of Whig and Tory'—or, we may surely add, of Unionist and Home-ruler, of Free-trader and Tariff-reformer—'and all such miserable bubbles and play-things of the hour, are vanished from existence and from memory.'

